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THE TRAVELS
OF
PETER MUNDY,
IN EUROPE AND ASIA,
1608–1667.

Vol. II.

TRAVELS IN ASIA, 1628–1634.

SECOND SERIES.

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THE TRAVELS
OF
PETER MUNDY,
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1608–1667.

EDITED BY
Lt.-Col. SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, Bt., C.I.E.,
EDITOR OF 'A GEOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF COUNTRIES ROUND THE BAY OF BENGAL.'

Vol. II.

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PREFACE TO VOL. II.

THE greater the acquaintance with Peter Mundy's MS. the greater becomes the sense of its value, and the present volume is full of interest for both the casual reader and the student of the history of the English in India.

The transcript, as in the case of vol. I., has been made from *Rawlinson MS.* A. 315 in the Bodleian Library and collated with the copy in the British Museum (*Harl. MS.* 2286). The same methods as regards spelling and punctuation have been adopted as in the former volume. Since the present work deals principally with events in India, the use of a large number of Oriental terms is unavoidable, but I have given these as simply as possible and have omitted all diacritical marks that are not indispensable. For instance, I have made no distinction between the different forms of *t*, *d*, *s*, &c., and have throughout printed both *q* and *k* as *k*. For the same reason I have not marked the *kh* or the nasalised *n* in such words as Khān.

A few extracts from contemporary documents at the India Office have been incorporated in the text. Such extraneous matter is printed in smaller type than the body of the book.

The twenty-nine illustrations which appear in this volume are reproduced from Mundy's drawings in the *Rawlinson MS.*, and the two maps show his routes from Surat to Agra and from Agra to Patna.

The introduction carries on the story of Mundy's life from 1628, where vol. I. ended, to the autumn of 1634, and thus embraces the whole term of his service under the

East India Company. Some further details of his family history, which have come to light since the publication of the last volume, are also added.

The appendices supply amplified accounts of important incidents touched upon in the MS. Foremost of these is the story of the great famine of 1630—1632 in Appendix A. Although most of the extracts have already appeared in Mr William Foster's *English Factories* in India, and although Mr Foster supplies a succinct account of the dire distress following on the dearth, I have ventured to reprint the original documents, together with others not found in his books, for the purpose of presenting to the reader, at first hand, a continuous, chronological narrative of this widespread calamity and its after-effects. In Appendix B, I have collected the various accounts of a skirmish with the Portuguese in 1631. These are interesting chiefly for their quaintness. Appendix C contains the story of events that led to the first recorded marriage between a Eurasian and an Englishman, and is illustrated by original documents. Appendix D is concerned with the first English Commercial Mission to Patna. The narrative is drawn from the original documents which are too voluminous to print *in extenso*. Appendix E relates to Mīrzā Zu'lkārnain, a very interesting personage, as he was a high official in the Mogul Court, although an Armenian convert to Roman Catholicism and a staunch supporter of that form of Christianity.

As will be seen, on reference to the notes in this volume, I am again indebted to a large number of generous and willing helpers who have given me valuable assistance in the work of editing. Among these my thanks are primarily due to Mr Henry Beveridge and to Mr Percy Dryden Mundy. The former has placed his wide Oriental learning entirely at my disposal and has spared neither time nor trouble in verifying and elucidating historical and biographical details and in solving the many difficulties with

regard to Oriental names. The latter, a member of the Markeaton (Derby) branch of the Mundy family and a descendant of John Mundy, Lord Mayor of London in 1522, has been untiring in his investigations with regard to the Cornish branch of the family. To Mr Mundy I owe the discovery of the wills of Peter Mundy's widow and sons, and most of the additions to the personal history of the author are the result of enquiries made at his suggestion. I gladly avail myself of the opportunity of publicly acknowledging the disinterested kindness of these two gentlemen.

I also beg to offer my warmest thanks to Mr William Foster for his ever ready help on all points connected with the East India Company and its servants in their various factories; to the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., for much valuable information regarding the Italians with whom Mundy came in contact and for placing at my disposal his exhaustive notes on Mīrzā Zu'lkārnain; to Mr William Crooke for settling several questions regarding customs and religious observances and for supplying valuable references on all points referred to him; to Sir George Grierson for explaining Mundy's allusion to the cleft rock at Gayā and for solutions of various other puzzles; to Colonel A. W. Alcock for the identification of Mundy's "strange worm"; to Sir James Murray for allowing me to see unpublished matter regarding words not yet reached in the Oxford English Dictionary; to Dr F. W. Thomas for explaining Mundy's use of the word "Ganghem"; to Mr A. G. Ellis for help with Arabic words and references to Persian MSS.; to Professor J. F. Blumhardt for the solution of Anglo-Indian terms used by Mundy; and to the Librarian of the Bodleian Library for his endeavour to trace the history of the Mundy MS.

My hearty thanks are also due to the clergy who have so willingly undertaken long and tedious searches in their parish registers in the endeavour to assist me in tracing Peter Mundy's parentage and burial, *viz.* to the Rev. F. R. Carr, Vicar of S. Gluvias, Penryn; to the Rev. A. A. C. N.

Vawdrey, Vicar of S. Budock, Falmouth; to the Rev. Canon King, Rector of King Charles the Martyr, Falmouth; to the Rev. Thomas Taylor, Vicar of S. Just in Penwith; and to the Rev. A. H. Wood, Rector of S. Gerrans, Portscatho. To these names I must add that of Mr W. J. Stephens, M.R.C.S., of Hayne, Newquay, who has supplied me with copious notes of the Mundy family from Cornish registers examined by him, and who has given me all possible assistance in the endeavour to discover the traveller's immediate ancestors.

I wish further to record my appreciation of the work done by Miss A. J. Mayes, Miss W. M. Mayes and Mr Wm. J. Bowers, the two former of whom have conducted enquiries for me at the British Museum, Somerset House, and the Public Record Office, and the latter among the official records deposited at Exeter.

My thanks are also due to the officials of the India Office for their constant courtesy in placing all sources of information at my disposal, and to the Cambridge University Press and Mr John Clay for excellence of printing and valuable help in proof reading.

To Miss L. M. Anstey, who has collaborated with me in other works for many years, I am once again indebted for her continuous and conscientious attention to details and for her patience and persistence in research, to which I owe such completeness and accuracy of statement as my annotations may be found to contain.

An extensive bibliography and a full index is attached to this volume.

R. C. TEMPLE.

The Nash,
Worcester.
December, 1913.

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INTRODUCTION.

Mundy's Life under the East India Company.

THE present volume deals with Peter Mundy's life as a servant of the East India Company and covers the period 1628—1634. As previously stated in vol. I., he was elected a factor at the close of the year 1627[1] and he took his passage in the *Expedition*, sailing with the *Jonas*, both bound to India early in 1628. The voyage was uneventful, but full of interest to Mundy, who employed his leisure in noting and commenting on everything that attracted his attention. He borrowed the ship's log from Daniel Hall, the chief mate, and modelled his own journal upon it, omitting, however, the entries not "pertinent" to his purpose. Instead of chronicling the "bearing of poynts," the "depths of anchoringe and weyinge," he enlarged on the places passed and visited, and on the strange birds, beasts and fish which he saw for the first time. Thus he has remarks on the "Peake of Teneriff" and the "Cape of Bonesperance, or Good Hope," a description of "St Lawrence, antiently called Madagascar," with its "strongly lym'd" inhabitants, and an account of Mohilla (Comoro Islands), where the fleet "traded for refreshinge." He noticed "sundry sorts of strange sea fowle," the fat-tailed sheep of Madagascar with "hanginge Eares, coulered like Calves," and "divers sorts" of fish. The only one of these that he thought fit

[1] Vol. I. 144—145.

to "decipher" was the shark, "a verie daringe ravenous fish" (p. 16). Thus employed, for his "owne perticuler," Mundy found the voyage "neither troublesome nor tedious" but "full of Novelties every daye" (p. 17). When nearing Surat, a collection was made from the passengers and crews of the *Jonas* and *Expedition*, on behalf of the Company's newly established hospital at Poplar, as a thankoffering for their "prosperous, healthfull and pleasant passadge." To this fund, which amounted to £71. 9*s*., "Peeter Mundye Merchaunt" contributed "Three pownds" (p. 20).

On his arrival at Surat, in September 1628, Mundy was "imployed to write in the office, as comonly all new Comers are" (p. 21), and for the next two years he was occupied in the usual duties of a Company's clerk. These, however, were not particularly onerous and allowed ample time for a detailed examination of Surat and its surroundings, as is shown by the notes which are embodied in *Relation* V. Of his associates he says nothing, and the only proof that he was in favour with his employers lies in the fact that his name is excepted from the large number of factors and writers who, owing to inefficiency, private trading, and other causes were ordered to return to England in 1630[1]. The Surat factory was much disturbed at this period by a quarrel between the President, Richard Wylde, and Richard Boothby, a merchant, who had sailed to India in the *Jonas* and seems to have been the originator of the "Guifte" to the Company's hospital at Poplar already mentioned. In 1629 Boothby drew up a long declaration of the "wronges, Injuries, affronts and u[n]just proceedinges" which he considered he had suffered. In this he states that his communications with the President were carried on by means of "honest Peeter Munday who was the best frind that I had, though the meanest in repute, for he durst sometimes speake in the Courte in my behalfe[2]." Mundy's name is, however, among the signatures to a

[1] *English Factories*, 1630—1633, p. 11.
[2] *Factory Records*, *Misc.* xi. 39.

representation to the Company against Richard Boothby in April 1630[1], and he therefore does not seem to have cordially espoused the cause of the turbulent merchant.

In the same month Mundy succeeded to a definite post, *viz.* that of "Register" at Surat. Later in the year he went to Swally to await the fleet from England[2] and there he witnessed an engagement with the Portuguese[3] which is alluded to in *Relation* VI. (p. 49), and described in Appendix B.

The ships that arrived in 1630 brought Thomas Rastell, who succeeded Wylde as President of Surat, and there was a general readjustment of offices. After much vacillation, it was eventually decided to transfer Peter Mundy and John Yard to Agra, the former as second and accountant and the latter as third, both to be under William Fremlen, then chief of that factory. They were bidden to halt at Burhānpur and to endeavour to obtain an order for payment from the Rājā of Bundī, who was indebted to the Company for some tapestry, unless they found that the Rājā was still in the Dakhan with the King's army, in which case they were desired to make no undue stay at Burhānpur, but to push on to Agra. A month's time was given them to "fitt" themselves "with thinges needfull" for "soe longe a Journey," since, as Mundy remarks, they would find "noe manner of accommodation but what you carry with you" (p. 24).

A start was made from Surat on the 11th November, and from that town to Burhānpur Mundy and his party had the company and protection of Mīrzā Mahmūd Safī and his followers, whose support proved most efficacious on several occasions, both in evading exorbitant demands for "Jagatte," or customs, from the local governors, and in repelling attacks from marauding Rājpūts. The *kāfila*

[1] *English Factories*, 1630—1633, p. 11.

[2] On the 24th Sept. he was "aboard the James." *Ibid.* p. 45.

[3] See *English Factories*, 1630—1633, IX.—X. for an account of this engagement.

consisted of Mundy, Yard and their assistants, "Mirza and all his people, and all the strangers that came with us" and numbered about "150 persons" and "15 or 20 Carts with some Cammells" (p. 45).

The journey to Agra was undertaken just at the time when the effects of a long drought in Gujarāt began to be evident in the form of a "very greivous" famine, and all the way to Burhānpūr Mundy had frequent and painful evidence of the distress and mortality caused by the dearth. One direct result of the scarcity was the rapid increase in the size of the *kāfila*, for at each village numbers of the inhabitants, intent on escaping from the stricken area, joined themselves to the caravan. By the time the travellers reached Nandurbār, nine days' journey from Surat, "the Caphila consisted of such a multitude of Carts and people which drewe to such a length, that hetherto wee could never see both ends from one place, and yett increasing daylye" (p. 45).

Among the objects that attracted Mundy's notice during the journey to Burhānpur were some two-humped Baghdādī camels "thicker and stronger made" than the "ordinarie sort" with "short leggs and verie hairie before" (pp. 40—41), fields of "paan," sugar canes, and "Beares" (*ber*) a fruit in taste "somewhat like unto Apples" (p. 48). He also noticed the patrol system carried on in the caravan at night as a protection against thieves (p. 43). Of the houses he passed, the "comon sort" were "litle and lowe with mudd walls" while the "better sort," which were but few, had "Gallaries on the outside like the Balconies in Spaine" (p. 44).

The danger of attack by bands of half-starved outlaws, the risk of infection from the putrefying corpses of the victims of the famine, and the difficulty of obtaining provisions *en route* were all sources of serious inconvenience until the travellers reached Burhānpur on the 30th November. Here there were no means of recovering the Company's debt, as the Rājā of Bundī was not in the city, but a delay of five days was caused nevertheless by

the failure of the native broker to provide camels, "soe that it was the 6th of December before wee could get forth of Towne" (p. 50). While at Burhānpur, Mundy's time for sight-seeing was limited, as he was "busied for our further proceede," and he has only short notes on the castle, bazar, the "poore mudd wall" surrounding the city, and the carved elephant in the river, so excellently sculptured that it seemed "to the life a farr off" (p. 51). Here Mundy and his party took leave of Mīrzā Mahmūd Safī and continued their journey with no other protection than that of their own followers. They passed by the fortress of Asīrgarh, and fell in with "manie and great elephants goeinge to and arrivinge from Brampore." Being beyond the area of the famine, there was no further trouble in procuring provisions, nor was the caravan again attacked by thieves. Mundy now first observed the Banjārā or carrier caste with their droves of oxen laden with grain.

The route followed by the caravan from Asīrgarh to Dilod differed from that taken by other seventeenth century travellers, and the fact that Mundy met with munitions of war and provisions for the army *en route* seems to show that the track he followed had been opened up by Shāh Jahān's forces, who were then at war in the Dakhan, and in constant need of supplies from Agra.

In a fortnight after leaving Burhānpur the party reached Sironj, a town noted for the manufacture of "great quantities of Excellent Pintadoes or Chints," and "encompassed" with "much fruitfull ground." The gardens yielded "good redd roses and white, but the latter exceeded in smell" (p. 56). At Abdu'l-Hasan kā Sarā was a "well contrived" *sarāī* "of Brick, haveing seene none such hitherto" (p. 57).

Christmas Day 1630 was spent at Kūlhāras, where a letter was received from Messrs Fremlen and Blagden at Agra. The "Christmas Cheare" consisted of "Rost beefe," "salt porke and Neats tongue." The beef was in reality "a peece of Buffalo, both hard and Tough, a sufficient tryall of our Jawes and stomacks, but for our better digestion wee added a Cupp of Sack," "therewith remembring

our freinds" (p. 58). The following day Mundy and Yard dined with two Dutch factors in charge of a *kāfila* of indigo and saltpetre, bound for Surat. On the 27th December they arrived at Narwār with its "Castle or rather a Cittie for its greatnesse" and its "faire large Tancke wherein, to our seemeinge, were thousands of wilde fowle" (p. 60). The fortress of Gwalior was reached on the 30th December and here Mundy made a sketch of its "admirable, strong, and beautiful Castle" which "somewhat resembles the manner of it." He considered it "the rarest place" he had hitherto seen and looked upon it as equal to "the worke and monuments of the Auntient Romaines" rather than "of Barbarous Indians as wee esteeme them" (pp. 61, 62). New Year's Day 1631 found the party at Dholpur, where Mundy was greatly impressed with the deep ravines in the neighbourhood of the Chambal river. He thought the district "the strangest peece of ground that ever" he had encountered, and compared it to "the tumblinge and totteringe waves of the sea in a storme," "such strange deepe crackte ground in generall that it was fearefull to see" (p. 63).

Agra, "our much longed for place of repose," was reached on the 3rd January 1631, and there Mundy and Yard had a warm welcome from Fremlen and Blagden, as well as from the Dutch factors and other Europeans residing in the city. A few days were devoted to giving and receiving visits, and then the factors "applyed" themselves "to follow the Companies affaires accordinge to the enorderinge of our Principall" (p. 66).

For the greater part of the year 1631 we have no actual record of Mundy's doings. He apparently fulfilled his duties to the satisfaction of all concerned and no doubt spent his leisure in absorbing information on various points connected with his surroundings. It was probably during this period that he made the observations of Agra and its neighbourhood and executed the drawings contained in *Relation* XV. There are, however, two of his private letters, written in 1631, still extant. One is addressed

to Crispin Blagden, whom he replaced at Agra. In this he begs Blagden, who was at a caravan station outside Agra, *en route* for Surat, to leave him "the Pistol" for his own defence "in regard I am butt slenderly armed here, and you are better and bigger provided there" (p. 68). Blagden's answer is not in existence, so we are left in doubt as to whether Mundy obtained the desired weapon. The other letter is dated nearly eight months later, in September of 1631. It is addressed to John Skibbow, with whom Mundy had been associated in his duties at Swally in 1630[1], and expresses gratitude for the way in which Skibbow had disposed of the money left in his hands.

Eleven months after his arrival at Agra, Mundy was sent on a short expedition to Koil and Shergarh to procure indigo and saltpetre for the Company. He was absent for a month, from the 17th December 1631 till the 16th January 1632, and was apparently singlehanded during this time. He travelled through a district infested with robbers, and had his first sight of the *mīnārs*, in which were cemented the skulls of criminals as a deterrent to other lawbreakers. The heads were those of "certaine Theeves lately taken," and Mundy also saw their bodies "hunge upp by the heeles in a grove of mango trees" (pp. 72, 73). Others had been executed, staked, or "roasted alive." The general condition of the villagers, who were oppressed by the local governors and robbed by "theevish Gacoares," excited Mundy's pity, since it reminded him of the state of "the poore Christians" under the "Tyrannie of the Turks" (pp. 73, 74).

From Koil, where he noted the Koil Mīnār and a fort in which he could see no ordnance, Mundy took a day's holiday in order to get a sight of the river Ganges. His first view of the river was in the dry season when it was only about half a mile broad. He "passed to the farther side in a small boate, but swamme back" (pp. 75, 76). On his return to Koil he attended to the packing and weighing

[1] *English Factories*, 1630—1633, p. 45.

of the indigo already ordered and then made his way to Shergarh, some twelve miles distant, where he collected about 400 bundles of saltpetre, Shergarh being the "onlye place about Agra where it is sold and made."

From January until August 1632 Mundy remained at Agra as second of that factory. In June he witnessed Shāh Jahān's royal progress into the city on his return from Burhānpur, as described in *Relation* XIII., and the celebration of the feast of Bakar'īd narrated in *Relation* XIV. His five years' agreement with the Company expired in February 1633, and on his application to Surat for leave to return to England, John Robinson was entertained as a factor and sent to supply his place.

But before his departure from Agra Mundy was entrusted with an important commercial mission to Patna, involving a journey of over 500 miles. Unfortunately, there was some misconception at headquarters and a grave error in the instructions. In fact, as was afterwards shown, the whole proceeding was "the effect of a mistake." Mundy himself was strongly averse to the undertaking and so convinced of its fruitlessness that he drew up a memorial of his "Reasons against the Journey to Puttana" (*Relation* IX.), in order to clear himself of blame, if the expedition turned out as he expected. From this memorial we learn that Fremlen was desirous of finding a market for the quicksilver and vermilion "lyeinge dead" in the Agra factory, and that the President and Council at Surat were looking for a fresh centre for the supply of coarse cotton goods for the home market. The glut of quicksilver and vermilion was caused by the "great quantities" brought out by "private traders" in 1631 "to the honble. Companys extraordinary Losse and hindrance." In the endeavour "to cutt the combe of private traders and to reduce the aforesaid Comodities to their pristine esteeme and valuation," a consignment was sent from Surat for disposal at Agra in 1632 (p. 81). Instead of realizing a good price, it remained as a drug in the market; hence Fremlen's eagerness to diminish the quantity by sending it to Patna

and thus to "cawse the price of the residue to rise." Mundy's arguments against this plan were that the prices obtainable in Patna for quicksilver and vermilion were not known, that in any case the price of quicksilver could not rise in Agra as the factors were in the hands of the Agra dealers who controlled it in all Hindustan, and that consequently as it fell in Agra directly the supply was increased, the same conditions were likely to prevail elsewhere.

Against the second part of his instructions, which directed him to make an investment in cloth in Patna and its neighbourhood, Mundy urged that the time allowed for completing the business was only 75 days, and that if Patna were the place intended for its transaction, then 40 to 45 days of that time would have to be spent on the journey. Therefore it was quite impossible to carry out the order, and so he sensibly concluded that Patna was not the place intended by the Surat Council, but some other town such as Daryābād or Khairābād within a few days' journey of Agra (p. 141). The result of the expedition proved the soundness of Mundy's reasonings; but meanwhile, having uttered his protest, he made no appeal against the decision of his superiors, and with his usual habit of accommodating himself to circumstances, he cheerfully set to work to make the necessary preparations for his long journey.

On the 6th of August his caravan set out from Agra to Patna. It consisted of eight carts, laden with quicksilver, vermilion and woollen cloth. Mundy was in sole charge, but he had a valuable assistant in Sundar Dās, who accompanied him as interpreter. The journey occupied seven weeks, and in spite of his opposition to the project, Mundy seems to have thoroughly enjoyed this opportunity for extending his knowledge of India and for making notes of what he saw.

On leaving Agra, he was struck by the avenue of trees planted by Jahāngīr's orders on the main road from Agra to Lahore "for the ease of Travellers and for shade in hott weather." He noted too that the majority of the trees he

saw were evergreen. Before reaching Firozābād, the first stage in the journey, he passed the "faire" tank of 'Itmād Khān, "one of the most auntient in India." After leaving that town, he saw the camp of Mīrzā Makkī (then on his way to take up his post of Governor in Orissa), whose equipage was so numerous and extensive that it made a "verie gallant Showe." At Etāwa, which was reached on the 12th August, Mundy was greatly impressed by the skill of the "Barbers" in massage or, as he calls it, "artificiall Champinge." His description of the process which "is here accompted to bee verie healthfull" (pp. 86, 87) is extremely quaint. At Etāwa, too, he noticed the great barges plying on the Jamnā, "Their Cheifest lading being salt" (p. 87).

Until the 17th August the way was "pleasant, plaine and fruitefull," but after that date the ravines fringing the Jamnā were reached, and "our plaine ground turned into Craggs" where antelopes, jackals and "strange fowle" were numerous. At Chaparghatā Mundy noted "the fairest and formalest Sarae" he had yet seen, with "faire towers," "stately gates" and "Battlements" "all compleat" (p. 89). Near Ghātampur the caravan entered a disturbed district, the scene of a punitive expedition by 'Abdu'llah Khān, the effects of whose repressive measures were evident in the existence of "above 200 Munaries with heads mortered and plaistered in." The road now became worse, the "rancks of trees" "much decayed" and the surrounding country was "even a wildernesse." Between Bindkī Khās and Fatehpur the travellers were much alarmed and "remained in great feare all night," having heard that the neighbouring villages were "by the eares amonge themselves," and anticipating an attack. So great was the peril that Sundar Dās took to using a "Strange Relique" "to be eaten in tyme of great daunger" as a protective charm. The precaution was considered effectual, as the caravan escaped attack.

After this the road continued to be heavy, and progress was slow owing to "pitts and pooles of water" where, "ever

and anon, one Cart or other would be fast" (p. 95). Here, as on the road from Surat to Agra, Mundy met Banjārās with strings of oxen laden with corn, and he also saw fields of *pān*, the use of which he explains. Near Karā he replenished his store of *'arak*, but it was made of *mahwā* and was "none of the best." Here also he passed through many groves of mango trees "Sett in Rancks by Measures" (p. 97) and remarked the first spring of water that he had noticed in India, "though questionlesse there bee many thousands" (p. 97).

Shāhzādpur, then famous for its manufacture of chintz and paper, was reached on the 24th August. The situation of the town reminded Mundy of Constantinople, "standing on manie litle hills," but in his eyes it lacked the "greatness and state" of the Turkish capital. Two days later the caravan pitched outside Allahābād, and there Mundy saw the tomb of Sultān Khusrū and obtained, probably from Sundar Dās, the details of that prince's "troublesome life and Tragicall end" as they were related by the gossips of the day. At Allahābād, where the travellers arrived nineteen days after leaving Agra, there was a delay while boats were being procured to cross the Ganges, and most likely it was while he was waiting there that Mundy made his sketch of the "principall Gate" of the castle (p. 108), the only thing he thought worthy of note in the city.

Having crossed the Ganges, which was then about three quarters of a mile wide at this point, Mundy's caravan was again in danger. The neighbourhood was in arms owing to a disturbance between the followers of Saif Khān, Governor of Allahābād, and the people of Bhadohī. Hostilities were imminent, and the usual bands of marauding outlaws "whoe take Jaggatt or Custome on the way by their owne authoritie" (p. 111) were on the lookout to despoil and rob. One party attempted to blackmail the caravan, but by the use of 'Abdu'llah Khān's dreaded name, some "faire words" and a "little ename" (p. 111) or gift, a heavy payment was avoided.

On the night of the 29th August there was much wind,

thunder and lightning and "aboundance of rayne" so that the carts were "upp to the Axletree in water," while the noise of the elements and shouting of the carters resembled a "sea storme aboard a shipp" (p. 112). The next day's travelling, too, was hard and wearisome since the water was "knee deepe, and some tymes more" (p. 114).

On the 30th August Mundy met with several of the Kahār caste laden with earthen pots. He was interested in the way these porters carried on their shoulders about a hundred-weight, balanced at each end of a long bamboo, "The Bamboe yeildinge and bendinge at every stepp, soe that they carrie more steddie then any other kinde of Invention that I knowe," their rate of travel being 25 or 30 miles a day in "a kinde of an easie leaping pace" (p. 115).

The next night a band of outlaws again demanded custom from the caravan, and this time 'Abdu'llah Khān's name had no power to stop their demands. The robbers named Rs. 500 as their price and threatened to take that sum by force, so that for a time there was fear of a recourse to arms. However, in the end, they agreed to accept Rs. 14, "and soe wee slept that night a litle more quieter then wee expected" (p. 118). But for the three following days "wee travelled in some fear" since the people "neither regard the kinge nor his lawes verie much" (p. 119). However, the blustering demands for custom were again evaded by small payments.

At Sarāi Bābū, Mundy obtained some *'arak* which, though not excellent, was better than he had "mett with-all hitherto." Benares was reached on the 3rd September and two days were spent in the city which, at a distance, appeared to Mundy like a European town. Here he had to bribe the officials of Muzaffar Beg, a *faujdār*, who would otherwise have commandeered his carts for Kulij Khān's service. The enforced delay gave him the opportunity of visiting the famous temple of Bisheshwar at Benares and of gleaning some information about the many sacred associations of the city. On leaving Benares, the Ganges, which was then running "very slowe," was again crossed,

and but little further progress was made, owing to "bad passages of water." The sight of *tārī* trees induced the hope of obtaining toddy, "haveing neither seene nor Tasted any theis manye dayes," but to Mundy's disappointment he found that the trees were only grown for their leaves, from which mats were made. On the 7th September the ill-omened Karamnāsa, "a pernitious River to the superstitious Hindoes" (p. 125 *n.*), was passed, and on the shore, in the sand, Mundy was surprised to find cockles like those with which he was familiar in England, but with black shells. From Benares almost to the gates of Patna the road was very trying for carts, so much "tough mire" and marshy ground that the oxen were "sore laboured" with "tugging," and a halt was necessary at Sāsarām to refresh them. Thus Mundy had time to visit the tombs of Sher Shāh Sūr and Salīm Shāh Sūr and to make a sketch of the former, though he could not gain admittance to it at that time, as Muzaffar Khān's harem was encamped there. Mundy also visited the tomb of Hazrat Chandan Shahīd, regarding whose canonization he has a story not found elsewhere, but one that was evidently current in his day.

On the 14th September the Son was crossed with great difficulty on account of the sands and "shoaldes." From thence, about 18 miles distant, the fortress of Rohtāsgarh "one of the most famous of all India for height, bignes and strength" was descried (p. 134).

On the 15th September Mundy and Sundar Dās left the carts to follow slowly and went on to Patna to "provide a place to howse our goods." On the way, they could purchase "noe wyne for any money, a straight prohibition against it." They reached Patna on the 17th and the carts arrived on the 20th September, 44 days after leaving Agra. Thus, the journey occupied about nine days longer than the average time, owing to "mire and dirt, it being tyme of Raines" (p. 143) and "not then the tyme of Travell for Laden Carts" (p. 144).

Having unpacked his goods and paid off his carters,

Mundy prepared to carry out his instructions, and first applied to brokers for the provision of *ambatī,* the coarse cloth desired by the Company. On the 27th September they brought a few pieces, which on inspection proved too dear and unfit "for our turnes" (p. 145). As no more brokers came to offer goods, Mundy sent two messengers to Lakhāwar, where most of the *ambatī* cloth was woven, to endeavour to procure a consignment at a reasonable price. It was not till the 5th October that one messenger returned bringing with him Gangā Rām, "the Cheifest Broker in theis parts for Corse linnen," who stated that a satisfactory investment in *ambatī* cloth might be made, but that about six weeks would be needed to effect it, "It requireinge above a moneth for the whiteninge" (p. 146). This information placed Mundy in a dilemma, for, though all idea of sending him to Surat with the first caravan of the season had been abandoned, he was enjoined to finish his business in Patna in time to arrive at Agra by the middle of January 1633. He would thus need to start at the end of November and had little more than six weeks left in which to carry out his instructions. He therefore decided that "here is an Impossibilitie to performe anything this way," and concluded that the only thing to do was to provide "musters" or samples of the goods required.

With regard to the disposal of the quicksilver and vermilion, Mundy's efforts met with as little success. For the first week after he was settled in Patna, the feast of Dīwālī "in which tyme they doe seldome doe anythinge in Merchandizeinge" (p. 146) stopped all trade. Then, when he attempted the sale of his goods, he could get no offer for more than four or five "maunds." He declined the "venting" of so small a "pertido," since he "might therewith have soe filled the markett" that he "might have kept the rest long enough." Meanwhile, he had sent a special messenger to Agra to know the lowest rate at which he might sell the whole consignment and had received from thence "expresse order to sell att what

rate soever" he could get (p. 148). Therefore, since "the price falleth dayly in the Bazare," he came to an agreement to dispose of the lot for Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ and Rs. 4 the *ser*, instead of Rs. 4 and Rs. $4\frac{1}{2}$ which Mr Fremlen had expected to obtain. The sale of the woollen goods was equally disastrous, for the purchasers declared they had been cheated in the quantity supplied, and yet refused to deliver up the cloth when their money was returned to them. In the end, rather than "leave Cloth and money and all," Mundy was compelled to let them make "the price of it themselves" (p. 150). Thus the whole transaction resulted in failure, chiefly, as he points out, because of the limited time at his disposal.

Mundy found the conditions at Patna very different to those that prevailed when Messrs Hughes and Parker attempted a settlement in 1620—1621[1], for so far from being courteously treated by the Governor, he was hampered in his endeavours on behalf of the Company by the opposition and tyrannical exactions of 'Abdu'llah Khān, "the most covetous and cruell Tirant that ever came to this place" (p. 144).

In Mundy's opinion it was against the Company's interest to establish a factory at Patna for the following reasons. Firstly, *ambatī*, the coarse white cloth made in the district, was "now dearer then accustomed," required several months for preparation and finishing, and after all would probably not "equallize" that of Gujarāt, which was better known "both for goodnes and Cheapnes then this is" (p. 151). As for the rest of "this Countries Commodities," such as raw silk, indigo, lac and saltpetre, they could all be procured better "and better cheape elsewhere" (p. 151). Assuming the facts to be as stated, this argument disposes of the question of a settlement at Patna, as Hughes had remarked, twelve years previously, that raw silk and *ambatīs* were the "two maine propes" which must "uphould" the factory. Secondly, one great disadvantage of Patna

[1] See Appendix D.

as a centre of trade was the excessive cost of land transport thither. Mundy was of opinion that goods might be sent down the Ganges to the sea, but could not "advise them to what port to come," since he did not know the Bengal coast. There was, moreover, "daunger both wayes, For this Countrie Swarmes with Rebells and theeves." Lastly, there could be "noe secure tradeing" under 'Abdu'llah Khān's rule, and Mundy therefore judged it to be to the Company's interest for the Surat Council to defer any decision as to a settlement at Patna until the samples he secured there had been examined and his statements duly considered.

But although his mission was a failure from a commercial point of view, it led to the acquisition of useful and important information. Thus, he drew up from hearsay a list of the ports on the Bengal coast. He also noted the "prises of Certen Commodities" at the time of his stay and the "names of sundrie Commodities to be had in Puttana" (p. 154), which include eleven kinds of piece goods, such names forming a valuable addition to the known varieties of silk and cotton cloths of the 17th century. He further made a note of the special weights and measures in use at Patna.

In the sequel Mundy learnt that his opposition to the journey to Bengal was completely justified, which must have been a source of satisfaction to him. "Some few dayes" before he left Patna he was advised by Mr Fremlen that news had been received at Agra from the Surat Council "wherein" they "acknowledged themselves in an Errour in writinge Puttana when they meant Semano" (p. 156). Samāna, now in the Patiālā State, was "within 40 Course" or about 60 miles from Agra, so Mundy could easily have accomplished a journey there within the specified time, and much cloth of the kind required was woven in the neighbourhood. It says something for Mundy's equability of temperament that he refrains from crowing over his superiors and merely observes that the "Journey and imployment" were "the effect of a mistake."

While at Patna, Mundy made his usual acute observations of the place, and to these he devotes a separate *Relation*. On the 16th November 1632 he started on his return to Agra, leaving "our howse in Puttana as willinglie as men forsake an infectious place" (p. 163). The route taken was practically the same as that on the outward journey, but since there was now but little heavy baggage, progress was more rapid and halts less frequent. The day after leaving Patna, Mundy fell in with the cavalcade of the daughter of Sultān Dānyāl, and he mentions the rumoured invasion of Shāh Jahān's dominions by an impostor, impersonating Prince Bāyasanghar, who had not then been unmasked.

The sight of the river Son probably led his attendants to tell Mundy a quaint "Tale of the Philosophers Stone" then current, but long since forgotten (p. 166). On nearing Rohtāsgarh and having heard "strange reports" of it, he determined to get a closer view. He left his luggage in charge of the "howse servants" and made a *détour* to Akbarpur "att the foote of the mountaine whereon stands the Castle aforesaid." He found, however, that the formalities necessary to obtain permission to inspect the fortress would involve "a great deale of trouble and tyme," so he reluctantly abandoned the idea, and contented himself with noting all he heard in the locality of the strength of the place and especially of the "profunditie" into which "with a longe bamboo theie turne condemned persons, whoe are never more heard of" (p. 168). After ascending "one of the lesser hills" where a "Lyons Cave or den" was pointed out, Mundy set out to rejoin his baggage. On the way to Sāsarām he was alarmed by the "furious rushinge" of a "Tigar," which, however, he did not see, and further on he met two "Hernabences or wilde Buffaloes, now made tame" (p. 170) and trained to fight. On the 25th November he came up with his cart, and the whole party halted at Sāsarām. At Khwāja kā Sarā, the result of a skirmish between the forces of the Governor of Sāsarām and the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages

was evident in the great droves of cattle then being carried off by the victors, since in "theis kinde of broyles" (p. 172) "most comonly" the villagers "goe to the worst." Near Mughal Sarāī, toddy "of date trees" was obtainable, although much inferior to "that about Suratt" (p. 173).

On the 30th November Mundy once more crossed the Ganges, which was now broader than when he saw it early in September. At Benares he found that an epidemic had carried off nearly all the inhabitants "9 parts" of whom "were either dead or fledd" (p. 173). While waiting two days "to mend our Cart and to stay for Company," he visited "the place where they burne their dead" and witnessed "the manner of it." He also visited one of the temples and made a sketch of the ceremony of censing an image of Kālī. After leaving Benares, the reinforced party journeyed through the district that had been the scene of disturbance on the outward journey. They found that the rebels had been subdued by Saif Khān's forces, that part of the road was protected by his soldiers for whom he had made a "litle Fort of earth," and that "many Townes hereabouts" were "destroyed" (p. 179).

At Hāndiya, the resting-place on the 6th December, the *sarāī* was full of "Rusticks," who were celebrating "the betrothinge" of one of the innkeeper's children "not 40 dayes old" (p. 179). At Jhūsī there was further evidence of Saif Khān's punitive expedition in the shape of "50 or 60 mens heads" "hunge upp by a stringe run through their noses" (p. 180). After leaving Allahābād, Mundy paid a second visit to Prince Khusrū's tomb which he found "new painted and fitted" (p. 181). Near his halting-place of the 11th December he met a "Zunge" or band of pilgrims journeying from Sorath to Benares. He was told that some of them went still further to Gayā "beyond Puttana," where there was a magical cleft rock, a passage through which could only be negotiated by means of a sufficient gift to the Brāhmans. The object of the

ordeal, as told to Mundy, was to establish legitimacy of birth. The test is still performed to obtain purification from sin.

On reaching Kora Khās, Mundy felt himself free to hurry on to Agra and to leave the cart in charge of some trusty servants "haveinge accompanied it hitherto, in regard of many passages of Rivers and places of daunger" (p. 184). So on the 16th December he left that place with only Sundar Dās and Mallā, his "horsekeeper," who had charge of the "beddinge and apparrell." Mallā, however, turned out to be a knave and disappeared with property belonging to Mundy, worth Rs. 140, and some more of his servants', worth Rs. 59½, "besides 9 rupees hee oweth to the Company" (p. 185).

At Bakewar Khānpur Mundy found that a large addition to the number of *mīnārs* of skulls set up by 'Abdu'llah Khān, had been made by Bākir Khān. They were increased by about 60, "with 35 or 40 heads a peece" (p. 185). Next day, near Etāwa, he saw the actual making of such a *mīnār*, "with a great heape of heads lying by," "ready to bee immortered" (p. 186).

On the 22nd December, thirty-seven days after leaving Patna, Mundy reached Agra, where he was greeted by Messrs Fremlen and Robinson, "Mr Yard being gon downe with the Caphila to which I was appoynted." This is the only comment on what must have been a keen disappointment to Mundy, since it was now impossible for him to reach Surat in time to sail for England with the ships bound home at the beginning of the following year.

He remained in Agra for two months and was a witness of the wedding festivities in honour of the marriage of the two elder sons of Shāh Jahān as described in *Relation* XIV. During this time, preparations were made for the dispatch of the last caravan of the season from Agra to Surat, and on the 25th February 1633 Mundy was placed in charge of 268 camels and 109 carts with their lading. He appears to have had no reliable assistant, such as the invaluable Sundar Dās, and the "convoy of 170 peones"

with which he started does not appear to have accompanied him far on the way. The journey occupied three months and was attended with so much worry and anxiety that at times Mundy's habitual cheeriness almost failed him. For a week, however, he had no responsibility, since Mr Fremlen accompanied the caravan as far as Bāmanwās. The first halt was made at Fatehpur Sīkrī. Mundy was greatly interested in Akbar's deserted capital, and here he spent a busy day inspecting the palace, the Jamā' Masjid, the royal stables and the Antelope Tower. On the way to the city he noted the *mīnārs* set up to mark the route of Akbar's pilgrimage to Ajmer and the ruined building where that monarch had attempted a wholly empirical experiment to ascertain the "natural laws" of human beings. Had Fatehpur Sīkrī not been abandoned, it was, in Mundy's opinion, "the only place that might any way resemble our European Citties for comformitie of stately buildinges" (pp. 227—228). The water supply by means of the "Persian" wheel attracted his attention and reminded him of Spain, where he had seen the same method in use. With regard to the building of the Jamā' Masjid and Salīm Chishtī's tomb, he repeats a story, evidently current in his day, but not apparently told elsewhere.

While Mundy was exploring Fatehpur Sīkrī, Mr Fremlen sent the carts two stages further on. Mundy rejoined him at Khānwā, and at Nībhērā they found Bākir Khān, who had recently come from Orissa and was on his way to Ahmadābād to take up his new post as Governor of Gujarāt. It was thought politic to beg the company and protection of this nobleman in the expectation of "saveing such Customes which otherwise would bee forced from us on the way," and thus reducing the cost of transport in this matter, ordinarily defrayed by contractors who accompanied the carts and camels of caravans. Bākir Khān readily accorded his protection and "promised to further us in what hee could" (p. 231). But, in the event, the arrangement proved to be both unwise and expensive, because Mundy's *kāfila* consisted of "the worst sort of Carts

and Cammells." Moreover, he had no reliable assistants, was travelling in a "badd tyme," and consequently found it impossible to keep up with Bākir Khān's rapid movements. The trouble began directly the two parties joined forces. A severe dust storm, followed by "aboundance of raine," occurred at Khānwā. The camels were thus delayed and did not reach Nībhērā till a day after the carts. Happily, Bākir Khān had halted "by reason of the raigne" (p. 278) and so the two companies proceeded together to Bayānā. Mundy was much concerned lest his goods should have been damaged by the wet, for a third of the carts were "without covers and three quarters of the Cammells goods lyeinge open in the feilds" (p. 278).

On the way to Bayānā were the bodies of about three hundred men staked by the roadside, "being of Rebells and theeves" by whom the district had been "heretofore much pestered" (p. 234). Some two miles short of their destination, one cart broke down and another stuck in the river "hard by the Towne." It was found impossible to extricate it, and the bundles of indigo had to be carried ashore on men's shoulders. There was great difficulty in getting assistance, for though there were "170 hired servants, the night being dark and fowle weather, every man shifted himself out of the way" (p. 279). The goods were "verie much dampnified" and it was nearly midnight before all the carts were reassembled. Thus, the journey began inauspiciously, and from this occurrence Mundy hoped "Mr Fremlen might judge of the future and farther proceede of this Caphila" (p. 279). Fortunately, for the sake of the wet goods, Bākir Khān made a day's halt in order to be entertained by the local governor. At Bayānā, noted for "the best Indico in all India" was also "the fairest Beawle," or reservoir-well approached by steps (p. 234).

On the 1st March 1633, the united party set out for Hindaun, passing in safety through Sikandarābād and near a ravine which was well-known as a lurking-place for robbers. From Hindaun, Bākir Khān sent his second son

before him to Ahmadābād "to take possession of the Government there in his name" (p. 235).

Mr Fremlen now proceeded to settle accounts with carters and camel brokers, "a very troublesome peece of busines" (p. 280), and on the 4th March he returned to Agra, taking with him Dhanjī, the "howse broker" and other servants, and probably a large number of the peons.

At Chāksū, which was reached on the 7th March, Bākir Khān halted three days to celebrate "his Nouroze" or New Year's festivities. This was solemnized "with all the Magnificence the way could affoard," *i.e.* by discharge of ordnance, feasting, "fightinge of furious Cammells" (p. 237), illuminations, &c. The journey was resumed on the 10th March and Mundy's attention was attracted by some men "who carried Faggots of rodds like Switches." These he learned were amulets against the bite of "any venimous thinge" (p. 238). He had also now an ample opportunity of observing "the manner how great men travell," and describes in detail the method of sending on advance camps and the various appliances carried for the comfort of a Mogul nobleman.

On the way to Bandar Sindrī Mundy was shown the direction in which the great salt lake of Sāmbhar lay, and was told the story of Mīrzā Zu'lkārnain, the Christian nobleman who farmed the salt revenues, and whose temporary disgrace was at that time a cause of much wonder and excitement[1]. From Bandar Sindrī, Bākir Khān went straight on to Ajmer, some 20 miles, "but then neither our Cammells nor Carts could keep him Company," so Mundy "stayed with the Cammells, as being hindermost and neerest daunger." He was now among the Arāvallī Mountains and the "waie" was "stonie." Happily, however, Bākir Khān made another halt at Ajmer "for his owne occasions, els had wee beene already left behinde" (p. 280).

[1] See Appendix E.

At Ajmer Mundy visited the castle and the tomb of Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-dīn Chishtī, of whom "are reported a world of false miracles" (p. 244). Here his servant overtook him, but 'Abdu'l-Karīm, an old and experienced "Servitor" of the Company, "whom, after much importunitie" Mr Fremlen "promised to send after me" was detained at Agra. This defection was a serious trouble, and Mundy broke out into bitter complaint at such very selfish and callous action. His case was probably no worse than that of many an Englishman since his day, but it must be admitted that his task was an exceedingly and unnecessarily anxious one. He was single-handed in charge of a caravan of unsound carts and "base" cattle, which nevertheless carried extra loads of provision on account of the scarcity occasioned by the famine; the route was entirely strange to him; he had a "multitude and diversitie of the worst sort of people in India to deale withall" and "litle language" with which to compose their quarrels. Lastly, in such adverse conditions he was compelled to try to keep up with the train of a nobleman travelling lightly equipped, and covering easily double the distance that his caravan could accomplish. In these circumstances Mundy's plaintive protests are not surprising.

On the 16th March the road to Rēā was very loose, and ten to twelve oxen were required to drag a cart through a quarter of a mile of deep sand "soe that it was almost two nights and one daye before wee could gett our Carts hither" (pp. 245, 281). From Rēā to Mertā, travelling was better, and Mundy noticed that "high Cammells" were used for riding instead of horses. Here news of the robbery of a Dutch caravan emphasized the importance of keeping carts and camels in touch with Bākir Khān's forces, and a lucky halt at Mertā enabled Mundy to collect his scattered goods and cattle, and settle the demands of the carters. On the way, others had taken advantage of the protection of an armed camp, and to the Company's party were now added crowds of returning pilgrims, merchants, &c. The

whole "tooke upp seven miles att length at the least, soe that some are att their Journies end before others sett out" (p. 246). The road to Pīpar was stony, reminding Mundy of Cornish granite. His carts had not arrived when the advance-camp was moving on, and for the next eight days some were always far from the main body, even though the "poore Cattell" were urged forward without giving them time to halt for "meate or drinck" (p. 285).

At Pīpar, Mundy noticed fields of poppy, the uses of which he accurately describes, but he was struck by the scarcity of trees along the highway and the desolation of the country through which he passed, not a hundredth part of which was cultivated, "the earth all hereabouts saltish and consequently the water brackish, soe that there are but few Wells" (p. 248). The road lay between mountains and was unsafe for travellers, the "few poore Townes" being "environed" with thorn hedges "to keep out pilfringe Theeves" (p. 248). It was now "out of possibillitie to attaine Jalore" where Bākir Khān arrived on the 27th March, and so Mundy was glad to take advantage of the company "of a Caphila and Tanda with graine," which he came up with near Bharwānī. Here a supply of fresh oxen was obtained, and as Bākir Khān had halted at Jālor, the carts and camels overtook him on the 28th March. But at this point Mundy was obliged to finally part company with his protector, for "Backur Ckhaun upon his owne occasion goeinge now in extra-ordinarie hast," and travelling with swift elephants (p. 289) it was out of the question to attempt to keep up with him. Already his "hasty march" had caused "the death, tireinge and spoyling of neere 350 Oxen, besides Cammells, and all to keepe Company with the Laskarr" (p. 289).

After a fruitless attempt to send the camels from Modrā with Bākir Khān and to follow himself with the carts, Mundy returned to Jālor and resolved that the whole caravan should "goe togeather." Travelling was difficult, as the road, though "a trade waye," was "cloyed with

sand" (p. 250). Two days were spent at Jālor to repair the "Tottered and broken Carts" and Mundy found time to visit the castle with its spiked iron gate and the Hindu and Muhammadan temples, all on the summit of "one great rockie mountaine" (p. 250). Here he attempted to hire *adāviyās* or transport-contractors for the expenses of the carts and camels to Ahmadābād, but could obtain none on reasonable terms, "and att last resolved to goe through as I had begun, *vizt.* to defray the charge myselfe" (p. 291).

On the 1st April the caravan set out from Jālor and made its way to Siwānā "a greate Towne of Hindooes." In "an unluckie hower," Mundy's curiosity led him to scale the peak known locally as Saucer Hill. "On the verie topp of this round, picked hill stood a huge stone upright, appearinge afarr of like a mightie high tower." It seemed "somewhat neere" but proved "to bee twice as farr." Four men accompanied Mundy. One soon returned, another "stayed behinde," and the other two did not make the ascent of the peak. Having descended "with great difficultie and daunger," he made his way back to the caravan and found that a search party was "abroad seekeinge of mee." He had, in fact, a narrow escape from "mountainous theeves" who "mett our people in the darke," killed one of them and threw the rest into a panic.

At Sirohī, famous for its manufacture of sword-blades, a halt was made to pay the customs "extorted for all Merchandize passing this way" (p. 255). Here Mundy had further trouble with the carters and camel-drivers. The carts of one Ganā were specially bad, and three of them did not get to Sirohī with the rest. "Dayly hindrance doe wee suffer through his meanes" and yet Mundy was "forced to give him money and faire words to goe on with all expedition" (p. 292). The camel-drivers too protested that their goods had not been weighed and that their camels had been over-loaded, but they were eventually pacified with Rs. 120 and promises of redress. Mundy

was also faced with a common trouble hereabouts, and learnt that marauders were lying in wait to attack the *kāfila*, so he hired a convoy of "horsemen and 115 Footemen" at Sirohī "to goe with us to the place of Suspected daunger" (p. 256). The way lay under Abūgarh, "a very great and learge mountaine," and an attack was feared in the same place where a Dutch caravan had been recently robbed, but "God be praised, wee escaped from forraigne violence" (p. 257). His troubles were, however, by no means ended, for a fresh quarrel occurred between the carters and camel-drivers and blood was shed on both sides, this being "the effect of joyninge Cartes with Cammells" and Jāts with Balūchīs "in one Caphila" (p. 257).

The road next day became less desolate and the convoy was dismissed. Near Mungthālā were woods, principally of banyan-trees, with which Mundy was less impressed than other travellers. Customs were here demanded by and paid to Chānda, a Rājpūt chief living in a state of outlawry. Near Ghod, on the 17th April, Mundy's eyes were gladdened by the sight of a spring, reminding him of "Englands flowrishinge and fruitfull soyle, aboundinge in theis kindes" (p. 260), but further on, during the journey between this pleasant place and Sidhpur, the carters and camel-drivers again came to blows "draweing their swords and wounding each other" (p. 296). At Sidhpur itself, Mundy noted the beautiful ruined temple of Rudra Mālā "with the best carved worke" he had seen in India, and deplored its desecration, for it had been made a receptacle for the "Carcasses of those that dyed by famine, the Skulls and bones of them to bee seene" (p. 262).

On the way to Mehsānā an unfortunate incident occurred. Certain men who came to collect customs were mistaken for "pilferringe Theeves," and one of them was "misused" (p. 263). Retaliation quickly followed and an Armenian belonging to Mundy's company was killed, after which a double payment of customs was demanded, the

whole way to Ahmadābād being nothing but a "desert, barren and theevish Countrie" (p. 264). Not having sufficient money with him for so excessive a demand, the "Carts being gon before," Mundy had to leave nine men as hostages until the amount was sent back from Mehsānā.

At Pansār were evidences of Bākir Khān's hasty march in the form of "men staked by the high way." At this time the caravan suffered much from dust-storms, and Mundy caused tents to be set up to protect the goods from rain. To his disgust, however, the carters and "Cammellers," "immagininge they were provided for them, gott under, till I was faine to drive them out," and then they dodged from tent to tent to avoid having to get the bundles under cover (p. 297).

But Mundy's troubles with his unruly carriers were now almost at an end. On the 28th April Messrs Wyche and Knipe came to meet him, and on the 29th he reached Ahmadābād, "the Metrapolitan of Guzeratt," in safety. The next day he and the two English factors went to pay their respects to Bākir Khān and to offer a small present. To their dismay their offering was "rejected" and "ourselves not admitted to speake to him." On appealing to his chief official, they learned that the new Governor demanded Rs. 20,000 as the price of his protection of the caravan from Agra. They protested on the grounds that even if they had gone by themselves and paid the demands of transport-contractors and customs between Agra and Jālor, the cost would not have exceeded Rs. 9000, and that a heavy loss had been sustained by extra payments to the carters to keep up with his rapidly moving camp. Negotiations went on for some days, and in the end they were informed "that for 4000 rupees all would be remedied." This the English at first refused to pay, but the Governor promptly sent for Messrs Wyche and Knipe with the Company's broker, and detained the two latter, "Soe fearing of some hard usage" and "much wanting the assistance of the Confined" (p. 300) the money was reluctantly paid.

Mundy remained for more than a fortnight at Ahmadābād and had time to examine the city with its "faire Compleat wall," its "Bazares and streets very large, faire and conformable, now half ruynated and dispeopled by the last famine" (p. 266). He was much impressed by the Kankriā Tank, "the biggest of this kinde that I have seene in India." He also noted that the "Tombe of Captaine Browne" the "poetical" head of Ahmadābād factory was "well kept and repaired" (p. 267).

On the 15th May, Mundy with two English factors set out for Baroda. They halted at Mehmadābād, where they enjoyed "excellent fish and fowle." Near Vāsad, on the Mahī Sāgar, they were assaulted by a band of Kolīs, and Mundy was conducted to their chief, to whom he paid the usual custom. Thence for some few miles they travelled along "a very strange, deepe and narrow passage," a "fitt place for theeves" by whom they were "molested divers tymes" (p. 270). At Baroda, where there was then no English factory, they left their "Chirurgeons Mate" to cure the foot of a Muhammadan friend of the late Governor's son-in-law.

At Broach, which was reached on the 22nd May, Mundy found his old friend John Yard, and here he and his companions halted for a day to pay the usual customs and to get the carts across the river Narbadā. On the 24th May they reached Ankleswar and by nine the next morning were at Variāo, where they left the carts, and Mundy "with some other English" went on to the "English howse" at Surat. Thus ended his "tedious journey" (p. 272). The feelings of joy evoked by his safe return to Surat were, however, quickly dissipated at the sight of the havoc wrought among the Company's servants by the sickness following the famine. Fourteen of the twenty-one whom Mundy had left alive in 1630 were dead, and three were in a dying condition at his arrival, so that the Company's business was almost at a standstill for lack of efficient factors. No doubt Mundy was immediately set to work, but he only tells us that he "remained all the

Raines in Suratt," and that in November 1633 he was sent to Swally as shipping clerk, with Francis Day as his assistant. His duties were to check the unlading of cargoes for the Company and to supervise the lading of goods on the ships bound for Persia and England. The post was one "of great Trouble, care and vexation for the while," as he "proved by experience," "haveing soe many shipps to unlade, relade, to receive from one and consigne to another, all in hast, one upon the neck of an other" (p. 313). It was usual for the President of Surat to attend personally and superintend the dispatch of the ships, but, probably owing to sickness and shortage of hands, "this yere" it "was left solely" to Mundy and Day "though not so much for our ease" (p. 312).

At the beginning of the year 1634 a fleet of seven ships was ready to sail. Four of these were bound to Persia, two to Bantam and one, the *Mary*, to England. Mundy "went aboard" her on the 29th January and with him three other factors, John Norris, Henry Glascock and Thomas Wilbraham, also bound home after several years' service in India. These four with John Jay, "the master," and William Slade, purser, were appointed by the Surat government to act as a "council," in conjunction with Captain James Slade, during the voyage to England[1]. There was besides another passenger, Thomas Barlow, "an excellent mathematician," whom Mundy visited in London after his return.

The fleet "wayed" from the "outer rock of Swally" on the 1st February (p. 315), and the next day fell in with six "Mallabarre Frigotts" whose captain came on board the *Mary* and agreed, on behalf of the Nāyak of Bhatkal, that English ships should "lade Pepper" thence. Mundy gives us a spirited drawing of one of these "Mallabarre Frigotts" (p. 316). The same evening the *Mary* parted company with the four ships bound to Persia and the next day the two Bantam ships left her.

[1] See *English Factories*, 1634—1636, pp. 4—5.

On the 22nd March the *Mary* passed "neere" Mauritius, where it was proposed to put in for water, but finding the crew averse to the idea, Captain Slade "steered away our course for the Cape of Good Hope," although at Mauritius there was "assurance of plentie and varietie of refreshinge for the takinge, of which att the Cape there is a doubte" (p. 318). Mundy's information, as also his description of the island, is based on the "relation of others," but he had personal experience of its fertility in his next voyage.

On the 5th April a quarter-master was buried "in the Sea" and on the 23rd May, the day after the *Mary* anchored in Table Bay, a man fell overboard and "sunck downe right and never rose more, while wee were all att Eveninge prayer" (p. 320).

While at the Cape, Mundy took note of all he saw. He has remarks on the inhabitants, their method of barter for water and provisions, the natural productions of the soil, and the animals and birds to be found there. He and "two others," one of whom was Thomas Barlow, ascended Table Mountain, which they found "wondrous steepie" and "were faine to pull and help" themselves "upp by the rushes and longe grasse." It was "somewhat late" when they reached the summit and they had not time to "take a perticuler view," so only stayed to erect three stones as a "Token of our being there" (p. 324). The Lion's Head, the Devil's Peak and the Lion's Rump are also described by Mundy under the names by which they were then known to Englishmen, *viz.*, the Sugar Loaf, Charles Mount and James Mount. Later, Mundy "sett downe the prospect" of these places "from the Shipp" as "neere" as he could remember. Before setting sail again in the *Mary*, he went with John Jay to Penguin Island, where they found a partly Europeanised native of the Cape, who received them in "English habitt from head to foote" (p. 327). The penguins, of which there were "aboundance," greatly interested Mundy and he has an accurate description and a good illustration of this bird (p. 328).

On the 11th June the *Mary* anchored off St Helena between "Chappell Valley and Lemman Valley" (p. 328). The crew went ashore "by turnes in Companies," and remained three or four days "refreshing themselves" (p. 332). Thus Mundy had ample time to explore the island. He saw "aboundance" of goats, hogs, "litle speckled ginney Henns," partridges, and pigeons, besides dogs and cats "runne away" (p. 330). He found the climate delightful and considered the island "a most excellent place for increase of Cattle" (p. 331). The variety of fish afforded him good sport and he proudly narrates the capture of a flying fish of between 18 and 19 inches long, weighing 26 "ounces good." "None in the Shipp ever sawe a bigger" (p. 331).

Leaving the island of Ascension where "noe shipp would willingly touch," the *Mary* made her way homeward. In July a man fell overboard but was saved, "although it were rough Weather" (p. 333). When the ship neared the tropics, the crew was attacked with a disease which from Mundy's description appears to have been beri-beri. Three of them died and forty more were incapacitated. On the 25th August the Captain endeavoured to speak with a ship and obtain "refreshing" for the sufferers, but "shee would not come neere us." On the 26th their signals were answered, and Captain Slade and Mundy went aboard a ship bound for New England. The captain "would willingly have spared us some beere, but the Sea was high and wee could not take it in" (p. 335). It was not until the 5th and 6th September that assistance was obtained from two "barques of Plimouth," and two ships of the Royal Navy, "whoe supplyed us with poore John" (dried hake), bread and "henns," also with "good beere, beeffe," and peas (pp. 335—336). But the help came too late to save "Goodman Wilson, our Smith," and John Oliver, who were both "buried in the Sea." Another man too fell overboard "and could not bee saved." On the 8th September a ship coming from Lisbon supplied "Lemmons for our

sick men," and the next day "wee came before Dover," where the passengers were put ashore. At two on the following afternoon they "tooke post horses" and reached London at six o'clock in the morning of the 10th September. The voyage had occupied seven months and nine days, and Mundy had been out of England for six years and a half.

The *Mary* reached Erith on the 21st September, and as soon as her cargo was unloaded, Mundy busied himself in settling his affairs so that he might go down to see his friends in Cornwall. He had brought home his "whole estate" in indigo and calico. The former was a monopoly of the Company, and he therefore solicited the help of his old friend and patron, Sir Paul Pindar, to influence the Court of Committees in his behalf. On the 14th November, the Court, "taking notice" that Sir Paul Pindar had "in private to divers perticuler men seriously recommended this man for the Company's favor," decided that Mundy's "accompts should be Cast upp" and his case further considered at the next Court. A week later Mundy renewed his suit for payment of wages and delivery of goods. The Court decided to grant his request, except as regarded the indigo. This they retained "according to their orders," which they would not "infringe" but allowed the "Company's price" for the same. In addition, as a mark of appreciation for his "good service" and "for Sir Paul Pynders sake," it was decided to "bestow" upon Mundy "as a gratification" the sum of one hundred pounds. A week later, Mundy having "cleared" with the Company, his bonds were cancelled and he was free to make his way back to Cornwall and spend his Christmas with his family (pp. 337—338).

Certain interesting points come out in Mundy's diaries regarding the life of Englishmen in India in his time. It is clear, in the first place, that they had no social or official standing of any consequence in the eyes of the natives. They were in fact not regarded seriously in any other

aspect than as the representatives of the people of a far distant land beyond the seas, who could be induced to part with valuable curiosities in return for protection or services, or with whom they could carry on a profitable trade.

The duties of the Company's servants do not seem to have been onerous, except on occasion, and life must have run pretty easily on the whole. The writers, who were clerks and subordinate officials, appear to have had plenty of time on their hands, while the work of the factors, or superior officers, was almost entirely confined to trade matters and to certain diplomatic dealings, of not a high order, with prominent personages. They naturally made many serious mistakes, but from inexperience only, for it is evident that they were acute enough in matters of commerce. Wrong and mistaken orders to subordinates at a distance were, however, constantly issued from ignorance, and the consequent correspondence must have wasted a great deal of labour and time. Mistakes also frequently arose from ignorance of the languages and of the customs of the country in almost every aspect of life, and these affected the factor and the writer alike, whether at the station or on one of the many journeys they undertook. Ignorance of the climate and of the conditions governing the safety of life and health of Englishmen in India killed off the early visitors to an extent that can hardly be realised at the present day: with such frequency, indeed, that they became callous to the constant spectacle of the death of comrades, after the manner of soldiers during a campaign.

That the English residents in India of Mundy's day were not ordinarily overburdened with work is shown by their frequent quarrelling, their brooding over wrongs, real or fancied, and the great labour and time bestowed on drawing up and answering indictments against one another. Party factions seem everywhere to have been rife, and strained relations between members of the small English communities were apparently the rule. Despite all this, there was a great deal of trust in the good faith of each

other as to money matters and the care of each other's property, arising no doubt out of the conditions under which they lived.

In Mundy's time religious feeling ran high, and the Company's servants were very strict as to observances, even in the East and on board ship, being then, as the English in India have ever been, exceedingly tenacious of their own customs and habits. Christmas Day, 1630, was religiously kept by Mundy and his companions in camp under many difficulties, buffalo meat doing duty for roast beef, while real sack was used for the toasts. Spirits of any kind were, however, welcomed—Oriental or other—when the familiar European strong drinks were not forthcoming. In matter of costume they were, nevertheless, largely Indianised, probably from motives of protection, so as to appear as little isolated as possible. In appearance, indeed, they must have been entirely Oriental, except as to breeches, stockings and shoes of European patterns. They also quickly picked up certain Indian ways, such as being shampooed, and fanned by swing punkahs, using *khas-khas* screens for cooling houses and rooms, having their meals in the open under trees in gardens, adopting curry and rice, *pilau* and other Oriental dishes, and Oriental cooling drinks, and so on.

It is also to be noticed that the necessity for constant change of office, position, and station was felt to a much greater extent than at present even in the earliest days of the Company, owing to the still existing causes of sickness, death, and journeys home. In addition to this, the annual arrival of the ships with fresh supplies of young men from England caused much redistribution of offices.

In Mundy's days the servants of the Company spent quite as much time travelling about the country as at the stations, and the strength of their nerves, which comes out clearly enough in the way they faced death and disease when at their ordinary work, comes out much more clearly during their many and frequent journeys.

All travel in those days was dangerous and risky, owing to armed highwaymen and outlaws and to local disturbances and wars *en route*. Journeys had also to be often undertaken alone, so far as the white man was concerned. This solitary white man had to be courageous and resourceful in settling fights and quarrels among his own following and in resisting the perpetual attempts at extortion along the whole route: he had to be persevering, tenacious and patient in combating endless and irritating delays, owing to Oriental habits and the badness of the roads: he had to be daring in order to undertake journeys in such conditions, especially as he was inexperienced in the ways of the natives, high or low, and in the seasons for travel, which last was no small matter: and it required endurance to occupy the native inns he found on the way. It speaks much for the conditions of the time that all Englishmen habitually went armed in the station or on a journey. In short, those who represented England in India in the first half of the seventeenth century were no doubt men of a narrow outlook on life and of small aims, but they were nevertheless typically English pioneers, strong of nerve and of a solid unflinching courage.

Mundy's Descriptive Relations.

The above sketch of Mundy's life under the East India Company is drawn principally from the journals of voyages and travels contained in this volume[1]. In the case of the Patna mission and the return journey from Agra to Surat he added to the statements of fact others justifying his opinions and actions[2], besides six *Relations*[3] almost entirely descriptive, and probably put into shape from notes made on the spot, either on the homeward voyage or later.

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[1] *Relations* IV., VI., VII., VIII., XII., XIX.

[2] *Relations* IX., XI., XVII.

[3] Nos. V., XI., XIII., XIV., XV., XVIII.

These deal respectively with Surat, Agra, Swally, the Court of Shāh Jahān, and Patna.

In the course of some exceedingly discursive remarks on Surat, Mundy gives an account of the English factory house and garden, with its fountain or "pretty conceited Waterworcke," and of the "long straight streetes," the "Castle," and the "Great Tancke." He also has a list of "Townes about," and factories subordinate to, Surat, and some notes on such disconnected subjects as Junks ("theis Country vessels"), a Monsoon, "Tarree" trees, bagworms and weaver birds. He describes "our Dyett," which enables him to give us two Anglo-Indian words, "dopeage" (*dupiyāza*) for a dish which was perhaps the curry and rice of to-day or possibly a *pilau*, and "Charebockhra" (*chār-bakhra*), for a sherbet, neither of which have I found elsewhere. And in enumerating the gates of Surat he makes the quaint observation on "Baroche Gate," that out of it "goe many a Englishman that never returne, it being the way to our place of Buriall" (p. 29). He winds up with a vivid description of a *satī* that he saw there.

The next series of descriptions relates to Agra and the Court of Shāh Jahān. In June 1632, Mundy, with Sundar Dās, who afterwards accompanied him to Patna, witnessed the state entry of the Emperor into Agra, a year after the death of Tāj Mahal, when the various carriages and other equipages excited his curiosity and interest, especially the numerous vehicles for "transporting weomen in India." Of these he has drawings, descriptions and comments, especially on a *chaundolī* or litter of the great ladies, showing how it was kept cool. This induces him to describe the well-known swing punkah of India with his usual clearness. The description is of exceptional interest as being apparently the earliest on record, for Finch's reference in 1610 to two "punkaws to gather wind" can hardly be called a description. Mundy is also careful to distinguish between the hand punkah and "the great artificiall fanne of linnen, which hanges downe from aloft"

(p. 191), and thus his reference is especially valuable. Reverting to the royal procession, he was much impressed by the state elephants, camels, coaches drawn by "very swifte" horses called "Kechees" or "Oxen of Extraordinarie greatnes," by the "thousands of horsemen," and by the *kur* or collection of royal ensigns. Here again he provides us with an Anglo-Indian word not yet traced in any other European writer, for he speaks of "Etimans or officers with silver staves," *i.e.* pursuivants or marshals (*sāhib-ihtimām*) to clear the way. After these came the king, his eldest son, and the armed retinue, the whole making a "most majesticall, warlike and delightsome sight" (p. 194). Over the king's head was a quitasol or umbrella, the only time Mundy saw one employed in Agra. He noted that their use was general on the way to Patna, but he did not see a single instance of it in his journey up from Surat. The royal procession is "demonstrated in some manner by figure," but in the illustration (No. 13) Mundy makes his elephants' legs to bend like those of horses.

In the same month Mundy witnessed another royal procession, when Shāh Jahān rode through the city to celebrate the feast of Bakar'īd "in memory of Abraham when hee went to sacrifize his sonne, but whether Isaack or Ishmaell I enquired not, it being a question" (p. 197). The general details of this procession were similar to those of the former, but this time Mundy specially noticed the trappings of the royal elephants, one of whom had "a frontlet of gold with Jewells" (p. 198), the gold plated palanquins, and the musical instruments, among them the "Trumpetts of att least 8 foote longe," with which "they make a base, hoarse, hollow sound, neither riseinge nor fallinge" (p. 199). The imperial standards, "in some manner" resembling those he saw at Constantinople, also attracted his notice.

A few days later Mundy was present in the audience chamber where the King "sitts" daily in "a Jarooca or windowe some two howers" (p. 200), the "raile" surrounding

it "made grateing wise, plated with silver" said to be of "the thicknes of half a crown" (p. 200).

Just before he left Agra, Mundy witnessed the festivities in honour of the marriages of Dārā Shikoh and Shujā', Shāh Jahān's two elder sons, and he has a detailed description of the elaborate firework display, "the ranck of great Eliphants whose bellies were full of squibbs, Crackers, etts," the "Gyants," "Monsters" and "Artificiall trees." The brilliancy caused by the discharge of so many rockets turned night into day, and the "noyse" was "terrible." The whole "made a brave and pleasant shew," but like a typical Englishman, Mundy found that though "Heere was Cost and Labour enough," it "wanted it may bee the Arte wee have in Europe of those kinde of workes" (p. 202).

At the end of *Relation* XIV. Mundy has short notices of Asaf Khān, Mahābat Khān and Nūr Mahal, three notabilities "which are heere put for Favourites or rather great ones att Courte." Unfortunately, however, his information was gleaned from others, and is partly inaccurate, as it was "the vulgar report and comon received opinion" of these "great Personages whoe are all yett liveinge" (p. 206).

Relation XV. deals principally with Agra and its neighbourhood. The city in Mundy's time was "very populous by reason of the great Mogolls keeping of his Court heere," and contained a considerable number of Europeans. Among these was Jeronimo Veroneo, "a Venetian and a Goldsmith," for whom Manrique claims the honour of designing the great mausoleum known as the Tāj Mahal. It is noteworthy, however, that though this building was in course of construction while Mundy was in residence at Agra and though Veroneo was personally known to him, yet he says nothing of the Italian's connection with the work. Had Veroneo really been the architect, it is unlikely that so accurate a chronicler as Mundy would have failed to mention the fact. He saw the work going on "with excessive labour and cost and prosecuted

with extraordinary dilligence." The solid gold rail around the tomb (afterwards replaced by a network of marble) was already complete by 1632, and Shāh Jahān had founded a suburb to provide a revenue for the upkeep of the mausoleum, and had caused "hills to be made levell because they might not hinder the prospect of it" (p. 213). These details are of special interest, as we have no other account of the Tāj by an English traveller at this date.

Other "notable" things in Agra that Mundy thought fit to describe were its "castle," gardens and bazar. Adjoining Akbar's fort with "its handsome Compleat battlements," its many "gates and Posternes" and "on the Topp sundry Turretts, Copulaes, etts. which much beautifie it," was Jahāngīr's palace, to which Shāh Jahān was then adding his Palace of mirrors, "the floore, roofe and sides of marble inlayd with lookinge Glasses made into severall workes" (p. 210). Among the gardens, Mundy devotes special attention to the Motī Bāgh, which he tells us was laid out by Nūr Mahal. In its "curiously contrived" "howse of pleasure" was "the picture of Sir Thomas Roe, late Ambassadour heere, as it was told us" (p. 215). The bazar afforded "plentie of all things," flesh, fowl, fish and fruit.

Mundy has also a very good description and an illustration (made after he left India) of Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, five miles from Agra. He was "desirous to enter" the actual burial place of the king, over which the "Tombstone lyes" but was not permitted, "by reason" Shāh Jahān "keepes the key of the doore, which is alsoe sealed with his signett" (p. 211).

The remainder of *Relation* XV. is miscellaneous in character and contains a description of "daunceinge wenches" and their part at a *mihmānī* or banquet, comments on the chief Muhammadan and Hindu festivals, the burning of devotees, and the marriage customs of the Khatrīs. There are besides, interesting notes on the "makeinge of Indico," different kinds of boats at Agra, the English factory house and the "Habitt" of the

Company's servants there (p. 218). This last consisted of a turban, a "white lynnen scarfe over our shoulders," a "fine white lynnen Coate, a girdle to binde about us, breeches and shoes, our swords and daggers by our sides" (p. 218). One gathers that in modern parlance their costume consisted of a native turban, coat and *dopattā* with a *kamarband*, the only European part of it being breeches, stockings and shoes. In the cold weather "pummering," a similar costume made of a warm fine cloth, was worn.

With regard to Patna, Mundy's remarks are very brief and, as in the case of Surat, very discursive. He comments on the length of the city, its "longe Bazare" flanked with trees, and the number of "Grocers or Druggists" which it contained. He has a description and an illustration of a *bajrā* or "Great mens Pleasure Boat" with its "Curious Chowtree" or pavilion "where the great man Sitts" (p. 158), and its numerous "Cowe Tailes" hanging down on both sides of the prow; but the only building that he thought worth describing was the Madrasa or School of Saif Khān.

The rest of Mundy's remarks on Patna are devoted to the Governor at the time of his visit, that "Cruell natured and covetuous Tirant" 'Abdu'llah Khān, who appears to have been capable of acts of fiendish ferocity, and is painted in the blackest colours. Mundy's opinion was no doubt somewhat biassed, owing to the fact that he had had to pay Rs. 250, extorted by the Governor from the broker who sold the Company's quicksilver, "alleadging that hee had sold Jewells that I brought, which were none att all" (p. 161). "In fine, hee plaies the Tirant." A horrible accident occurred to one of the Governor's daughters during Mundy's stay at Patna. Her clothes caught fire and she was so "scorched and frighted" that she died from burns and shock.

In *Relation* XVIII. Mundy has brief comments on the "Inhabitants" of India, enlarging, however, only on the Parsees and their "round, wide, lowe towers" used as

burial places, and on the "Hallalcores" or very low-caste people, a "kinde of base, abject and contemned people or Cast" (pp. 305—306). He also remarks on the "beasts" of India and notes a rat called "Goose [*ghūs*] as bigg as a prettie pigg of 10 or 12 dayes old" (p. 307). Among the birds he mentions the *saras*, "the biggest flyeinge Fowle that I have yett seene" (p. 307). The *domūnhā*, water-snakes "vulgarly held to have 2 heads," which they were said to use for six months in turn, puzzled Mundy considerably. He found a dead one, which "seemed to have 2 heads indeede," but "for all I could diserne, it had but one reale" (p. 309). Mundy also heard of, but did not see, a *pinjrapol* or "Hospitall" kept up by the Jains at Cambay "for sick Fowle." This *Relation* also contains remarks on the "Mareene" at Swally, with the "great doeings" there at the time of "landing and ladeing of goods," and on the temporary bazar erected by native traders "of Bambooes, Reed, etts.," where all kinds of provisions were sold, "especially Toddy, which findes Currant and quick dispatch" (p. 312).

In addition to his purely descriptive relations, Mundy has many interesting notes in his diaries of his journeys. Thus we find numerous remarks on elephants, the manner of catching them, their use for war, state, fighting, and as executioners. Other animals used for sport, such as antelopes, buffaloes and hunting-leopards all receive attention, as well as the Indian methods of catching water-fowl. There are frequent allusions to the manner of supplying water, with detailed descriptions of elaborate step-wells, tanks and fountains. Nothing, indeed, escaped his attention, and his comments are of the greatest value on account of their accuracy. He never indulges in travellers' tales. When he is not an eye-witness, or when he is chronicling what he has gathered from others, he qualifies his statements with "This by relation," "This as I am informed," &c. For instance, at the end of his account of the "makeing of Indico" he adds, "This as neere as I can remember as it was told me by our Indico Merchants"

and is "not soe punctuall as it might have bene" (p. 223). Again, he just missed seeing both a tiger and a rhinoceros and frankly owns his disappointment. In the same way when describing Bākir Khān's "silver Cotte," his innate truthfulness causes him to add "least wise plated over" (p. 232).

His errors are remarkably few. He confuses the Banjārās (carriers) with their *tāndās* or camp of oxen, a *mihtarānī* (female scavenger) with a *bhathiyārī* or "the lady of the inn" (p. 121), and tells us that cock-fighting, one of the oldest pastimes in India, "is not heere in use"; but these mistakes are trifling in comparison with the mass of valuable information which he has bequeathed to us. His accuracy in reporting vernacular words is extraordinary and testifies to his remarkably good ear, which enabled him to discover that there were "noe thirds nor fifts" in Indian "Musick as I could heere" (p. 217).

Mundy's remarks on the religions and religious customs with which he came in contact are also in striking contrast with those of other travellers of his day, and are a convincing proof of his breadth of mind at a time when religious tolerance was almost unknown. He certainly notes cases of "extreame superstition," but his condemnatory remarks thereon are singularly few. His lack of egotism is in some ways a loss, inasmuch as we have in consequence but few hints of his personal feelings and are obliged to infer them. For instance, we gather that he had an aversion to tobacco from the contrast which he draws between it and *pān*, which is "wholesome" and "sweet in smell."

His close observation is quite as remarkable as his accurate ear. Thus, he noted the difference in the colour of the shroud in which a male or female corpse was wrapped for burning; he saw that a bridegroom carried a cocoanut, though he was not aware that it was a protection from the evil eye; and he was struck by the fact that a troop of horsemen whom he met proved to be riding mares, "it being not usuall" (p. 184).

The man himself, as revealed in his MS., must have possessed sterling qualities. His humanity is shown by his distress at the unavoidable abandonment of two defenceless girls during a journey, and by his regret at the compulsory overdriving of his bullocks and camels in the vain attempt to keep up with Bākir Khān's rapid movements. His equable temperament led him to take philosophically the long and unprofitable journey to Patna and the consequent year's delay in his return to England. He certainly lost his cheeriness and equanimity on his way back to Surat, but he was then sorely tried and was probably feeling the effects of his five years' stay in India.

Mundy's love of his country and especially of his own county of Cornwall is constantly in evidence. To quote a few instances; he compares the Indian weaver-bird to the Cornish gladdy or yellow-hammer (p. 37); a "long kinde of grasse" growing in some marshy ground is such as is used to "strewe in Churches as in the west Countrie" (p. 126); the little "Tangans" or Tibetan ponies "are of the same repute heere in India as our Cornish Naggs" (p. 136); the heights on which the fort of Rohtāsgarh is situated resemble "the Cliffes about the Lizard" (p. 168); the "stonie" road to Pīpar is like "some places of Cornwall, beinge of the same kinde of Stone, which wee call Moore stone" (granite) (p. 246); the beehive huts of the poorer Rājpūts are "in forme like our round Corne Stacks in the feild though not soe bigg nor soe high" (p. 249). He has besides several references to his earlier travels in France, Spain and Turkey, in addition to those already noted. The width of the Ganges is compared with the length of the "longe Gallery att Paris" (p. 173); the Mogul ensigns "in some manner" resembled "those I sawe att Constantinople" (p. 199); the "Moores," like "the Turks at Constantinople," "make their Sepulchers without the Citties for the most part" (p. 229); a Martaban or Pegu jar for holding water is "like a Tynaja in Spaine" (p. 230); the "huge stone" on the peak near Siwānā that Mundy

ascended reminded him, as a strange "worke of Nature," of the "Porto de Sainte Adrian in Biscay" (p. 252).

As in the European travels, described in the previous volume, Mundy is careful to keep account of the distance covered in his voyages and journeys. At the same time, although he is evidently very proud of his feats as a traveller, he never exaggerates his mileage and often considerably underestimates it. During the six years and a half that he was absent from England, he reckoned that he covered 29,584 miles. In reality the distance was about 2670 miles by land and 27,280 by sea, or a total of 29,950 miles. The outward voyage occupied six months and three days and the homeward voyage seven months and nine days, so that he spent five years and rather more than four months in India.

Although he lived at a time long before the study of mankind had come into existence, Mundy's close observation of persons and things, and his guarded remarks on points about which he had no certain knowledge contrast favourably with the inaccuracies and errors of many a traveller both before and after his day. In this connection it is interesting to find that Father Ripa, an Italian missionary who visited Bengal in 1709, fully realized the harm that could be done by the misstatements of badly-informed writers. He says: "I went with my companions to Signor Bernabi. Besides offering us breakfast, he invited us all to dinner, as also a Jesuit Father, to whom he gave for his amusement Monsieur Luilliè's printed journey to Bengala. It was full of mistakes, he said, the author having written it without being well informed about the country. The same happened to me on my return from China. A relation of that vast Empire came into my hands, and, on reading it, both I and another, who had also been an Evangelical labourer in the Vineyard of the Lord, we (*sic*) could not help laughing at the great number of things which were so utterly beside the truth. Such mistakes happen, I believe, when the writer, who either has not remained long in a place or is not very experienced, writes

down whatever he hears from ignorant or ill-informed persons, or when he copies other authors without distinguishing between what is correct and what is not. To avoid such a serious mistake, anyone who has not remained long enough in a place to be accurately informed, should follow the advice of writing only of what he has himself seen or ascertained from experienced and trustworthy people. And if there is question of affairs and controversies of greater moment, the advice given me in 1706 by the Abbate Pascoli, a former Apostolic Missionary in the Indies, was not to write of such matters before one has learned the language of the country, and has become quite conversant with the things one wishes to write about. I followed his advice and had good reason to thank the Lord for it, because others who succumbed to a *pruritus scribendi*, when they had scarcely arrived in these Missions, were put to the shame of having to retract their own statements[1]."

Mundy's Account of the Famine in Gujarāt in 1630—1632.

Contemporary narratives of the famine, known as the Satiāsio Kāl, which partially depopulated the province of Gujarāt in 1631, have been collected in Appendix A. Mundy's own account of its widespread effects adds another and equally vivid picture of the sufferings entailed on natives and Europeans alike in consequence of the prolonged dearth. The traveller's scattered remarks are more forcible when read in a direct sequence. I therefore here give the story *en bloc* as culled from various parts of his MS.[2]

"About the tyme of our departure for Agra [November 1630] began a Famine, the Secondary cawse thereof the

[1] *The Abbate D. Matteo Ripa in Calcutta in* 1709. By the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. (The Catholic Herald of India, August 1913.)

[2] So far as I know, there is no other printed version of Mundy's account of the famine in Gujarāt, except that given by Sir Theodore Morison in his *Economic Transition of India*. That account, however, contains only a portion of Mundy's remarks.

want of rayne this last Season, and much feared will prove very greivous, poore people begininge to die for want of Sustenance. God shew mercie on all men" (p. 38).

On his arrival at "Kirka[1]" Mundy and his party found the town "halfe burnt upp and almost voyd of Inhabitants, the most part fledd, the rest dead, lyeing in the Streets and on the Tombes" (p. 40). At Dhāitā "the men and weomen were driven to that extremitie for want of food that they sold their children for 12*d.*, 6*d.*, and [?] pence a peece; yea, to give them away to any that would take them, with many thancks, that soe they might preserve them alive, although they were sure never to see them againe" (p. 42). At Nandurbār it was difficult "to finde a roome convenient for our litle Tent, by reason of the number of dead bodyes that lay scattered in and about the Towne. Att last wee tooke up our lodginge among the Tombes." Here "all this day" the travellers' "noses were infested" and their "bodyes almost infected with a most noysome smell, which after search, wee found to come from a great pitt wherein were throwne 30 or 40 persons, men, weomen and children, old and younge, confusedly tumbled in together, without order or Coveringe, a miserable and most undecent spectacle. Noe lesse lamentable was it to see the poore people scrapeinge the dunghills for food, yea in the very excrements of beasts, as horses, oxen, etts. belonginge to Travellers, for graine that perchaunce might come undisgested from them, and that with great greedienesse and strife among themselves, generallie lookinge like annatomies with life, but scarse strength enough to remove themselves from under mens feete, many of them expireinge, others newe dead. This was their estate in every Streete and Corner; And from Suratt to this place (in a manner) all the high way was strowed with dead people, Our noses never free of the Stinck of them, especially about Townes; for they dragg

[1] For the places mentioned on this journey, see the map facing p. 39.

them out by the heeles starke naked, of all ages and sexes, till they are out of the gates, and there they are lefte, soe that the way is halfe barred up. Thus it was for the most part hitherto" (pp. 43—44).

Within less than ten days the *kāfila* with which Mundy travelled from Surat increased from 150 to more than 1700 persons, with carts and beasts of burden in proportion. "For the Countrie [people], hearinge of our Comeinge this waye, resolved, for their better securitie to take hold of this oppertunitie to save their lives by avoydinge the famine and repaireinge to places of better releife. Soe that as wee passed their Townes, they dayly joyned to us by multitudes, and likely so to continue untill our arrivall at Brampoore." At Nimgul "wee also stood on our Guard, fearinge to bee sett upon either by Theeves or famished people" (pp. 45—46).

Between Tekwārā and Thālner the caravan passed through a town "about which all the high waies were soe full of dead bodyes that wee could hardly passe from them without treadinge on or goeinge over some, and from thence to Talnear all that way strewed with them" (p. 47). At Chopdā the market was "prettie well furnished with provision both for horse and man, which was a great ease to our mindes. Neverthelesse the people lay dead upp and downe the streets" (p. 48). At Adāvad, about fifteen miles from Chopdā, "the people were neere all dead and fledd, soe that there was litle to bee hadd" (p. 48). At Nāvī, "in the midle of the Bazaree lay people new dead and others breathing their last with the food almost att their mouthes, yett dyed for want of it, they not haveinge wherewith to buy nor the others so much pittie to spare them any without money (there being no course taken in this Country to remedie this great evill, the rich and strong engrossinge and takeinge perforce all to themselves)" (p. 49).

However, after leaving Burhānpur "wee began to bee freed from the sadd Spectacle of dead men, but their places were supplyed by innumerable Carkases of dead

beasts, as Elephants, Cammells, horses, Buffaloes, Oxen, etts. but the greatest number were of Cammells" (p. 52). At Dilod, there was no longer any trace of the famine. The travellers found "all the Countrie covered with corne feilds greene, as of Cotten alsoe, and Gardeins aboundinge with fruites and hearbes, and within the Towne a most plentifull Bazare. Our case att this tyme was farr different from that formerlie, when as nothing was presented to our viewe but dead Carkases of men and beasts, the woefull effects of famine and mortallity" (p. 55). At Sironj Mundy saw a *tāndā* a mile and a half in extent, consisting of "many thousand of Oxen laiden with provision." Moreover, "all the face of the earth, as farr and distant as wee could descerne," was "covered with greene Corne. But of all this aboundance poore Guzeratt was never the neere, where there was most neede, it beinge all sent to Brampore to supplie the Kings Laskarrie (or Armie) lyeing there against Decan" (p. 56).

At Agra Mundy was out of the radius of the famine and he has nothing more to say of its effects until some eighteen months later. Then he records the arrival of a caravan under the convoy of John Leachland in August of 1632 and notes that Leachland had been induced to undertake this charge "by reason of the great mortallitie" at Surat (p. 80). Leachland was entrusted with "a faire Persian horse" which he was directed to sell at Agra, if possible, since the animal wanted "nothing but good feeding, the famine of this place having deprived horse and man of their fitting alloweances which other times have afforded" (p. 83).

It was not until the following year, when Mundy was on his way back to Surat, that he fully realized the widespread effects of the misery he had witnessed during his journey to Agra at the close of 1630. On nearing Chāksū[1], in March 1633, he was reminded of the famine by the

[1] For the places mentioned on this journey, see the map facing p. 39.

theft of an ox from his caravan "belonginge to some of our Bulloaches, whoe had brought him and laden him with graine to carrie to Guzaratt to releive their necessitie with it in tyme of that great dearth (which begann att my Comeinge away and yett continued in Some part)" (p. 236). The town of Garhā was found to be "ruinated through the late famine that raged in Guzarratt, and it seemes reacheth hetherto, there beinge to bee seene aboundaunce of Skulls and bones of men and beasts" (p. 248). At Sidhpur, where a halt was made on the 20th April, was the ruined Rudra Mālā, a Hindu temple, its exterior "ruinated" by the "Moores," but "much worse within" where they "threw the Carcasses of those that dyed by famine, The Skulls and bones of them to bee seene" (p. 262). On reaching Mehsānā, too, on the 25th April, Mundy noted "heaps of deadmens bones and multitudes of them scattered heere and there, the sad Trophees of the late mortall famine not yet extinguished" (p. 265). Even Ahmadābād, the chief city of Gujarāt, with its "faire" bazars and streets, was "halfe ruynated and dispeopled by the last famine" (p. 266), and three weeks later, when within a short distance of Broach, two towns were passed "dispeopled through famine, exceptinge some Banians that sell graine for Travellers" (p. 271).

Mundy himself suffered indirectly from the prolonged effect of the dearth, for it "being a tyme of scarcitie" his carters insisted on lading "graine etts. provision" in their already unserviceable carts and consequently retarded the progress of the caravan, the conduct of which proved an exceptionally onerous charge.

But it was on reaching Surat, in May 1633, that he was most nearly touched by the extent of the calamity that had overtaken the Province of Gujarāt. A severe epidemic had succeeded the dearth and had almost wiped out the Company's servants there and in the neighbourhood. "At my arrivall heere there were but few liveing of those I left heere att my departure, the rest dead with the Mortall Sicknesse that imedeatly followed the famine"

(p. 272). Of twenty-one persons living at the time of Mundy's departure in November 1630, fourteen were dead, and three more died shortly after his return, "besides the Inferiour sort according to this proportion. The like tyme was never seene in India, There being Scarce one Man in all Suratt-howse able to write or sett his hand to Paper (sometymes). Theis were only by Sicknesse, but the Famine it selfe swept away more then a Million of the Comon or poorer Sort. After which, the mortallitie succeedinge did as much amongst rich and poore. Weomen were seene to rost their Children ; Men travelling in the way were laid hold of to bee eaten, and haveing Cut away much of his flesh, hee was glad if hee could gett away and save his life, others killed outright and devoured. A man or woman noe sooner dead but they were Cutt in peeces to be eaten. Thus much by Common report (because I was not present). But att my returne I found the Countrie in a manner desolate, scarce 1 left of 10, as by instance of the weavers, for whereas formerly they had brought them [the factors] 30, 40 or 50 Corge a day, they could now scarce gett 20 or 30 peeces; this in Baroach. Att Suratt none att all, and in Brodra noe Factorie att present. In my opinion it will hardly recover it[s] former estate in 15, nay, in 20 yeares; I meane Guzeratt."

Mundy's notices of the Satiāsio Kāl, "Death of '87" (*Samvat* 1687, Hindu reckoning), throw a vivid light on the treatment of a state of famine by provincial authorities in the Mogul days. We have the familiar accounts of the sale of children and the picking of undigested grain out of excrement, which may be said to be concomitants of all severe famines, but we have also convincing proofs of the absence of any attempt to meet the situation officially. There was no order in the disposal of the dead, leading directly to pestilence. Following on that fact was added the liability to sickness naturally caused by the weakness consequent on insufficient food. The entire want of administrative measures to cope with the situation and of attempts by the people to try to help themselves are both

highly instructive. Those who could fled, but had to wait for a caravan, which they could join for protection against road thieves, whom none cared to control, while the travelling members of the caravans specially supplied themselves with extra food for their own wants, without any idea of assisting sufferers met with *en route*. This callous way of regarding the plight of others was the ruling characteristic of all, from the rulers downwards. Country people flocking to the towns were allowed to die in the streets within reach of food. There was no notion of helping them if they could not pay for it. Not only was no attempt made to transport food to the starving districts from plentiful harvests close by, but supplies were diverted to public uses elsewhere and were being transported thither in large quantities. The subsequent pestilence was truly horrible, and one has to think in order to realise what it meant, when 17 out of 21 superior officials of the Company at Surat, including the Chief, died of it within two years. On the whole, it is worth while to read Mundy's unimpassioned, matter-of-fact observations on this famine, if only to grasp the difference of the conditions of native life under the Mogul and the British Governments.

The First British Mixed Marriage.

One of the most interesting of the references made by Peter Mundy to men of his day is his acquaintance and dealings with John Leachland[1], who contracted the first known "marriage" of an Englishman to a native woman. The detailed information that has come down to us from the imperfect records of the day is to be found in Appendix C[2], but the circumstances of his case are of sufficient importance to merit a special notice here.

John Leachland arrived in India in 1615 and eventually died there in 1634, so that he was in the country some nineteen years. He seems to have been a good servant of the Company and a quiet inoffensive man.

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[1] See pp. 80—83. [2] See pp. 354—359.

In 1626, the death of a child of his by a native woman named Manyā discovered a *liaison* of long standing, which scandalised the Company's representatives at Surat. Failing in the attempt to induce him to give her up, they suspended him from the Company's service, with his consent, pending a report on the circumstance to the Court of Committees in London. The famine of 1630—32 and the consequent epidemic killed off the Englishmen in Surat to such an extent that Leachland was readmitted, in 1632, to fill an obviously urgent vacancy, and he died in the service of the Company. Meanwhile, he had had a daughter by Manyā, named Mary, and his dying requests were that wages due to him might be divided between them, and that the Company's servants should see the girl, who had been baptized, "christianly brought up." This was highly approved of by the local authorities and a compassionate allowance was granted to the "wife and daughter." The Court of Committees at a distance took another and more economical view, and the allowance had to be withdrawn, owing to their "great dislike of himself [Leachland], family and service" and "of their disorder." The local authorities, however, persisted in trying to save the girl Mary, then nine years old, from the life obviously reserved for her by "a most wicked mother," who flatly refused to give her up. At the same time, the President and Council went on supporting them from the Company's funds. Henry Bonner, Leachland's brother-in-law in England, also took the matter up in 1635, and demanded the transportation of the girl home. By 1639 the mother, who had become very poor, petitioned the Company for further assistance, and the girl's uncle William Leachland had taken steps to obtain custody of her, but apparently without result. In 1643, when Mary was 18, she was living with her mother at Broach or Baroda, and the mother applied to the President and Council for leave to marry her to William Appleton, a tailor of Surat. Mary seems to have been a well-behaved girl, and to her credit resisted the temptations of her surroundings and

origin. So she was duly and solemnly married at Surat by the Rev. Andrew Baines. The couple had a poor prospect before them and lived, at any rate at first, on the charity of the Company's servants, and on hopes of assistance from Mary's uncle, William Leachland, and from the Company itself out of unpaid wages claimed by the girl's father.

Such is the story of the first recorded formal marriage between an Englishman and a locally born Christian girl of mixed parentage. It affords a strong instance of the difference of opinion on social matters between men on the spot in India and those in power in England, who had never been there. Whatever Leachland had done, it was clear to the factors at Surat that it was necessary to uphold the honour of the Christian religion and the English race in an Oriental country at any cost: a point that the stay-at-home Court of Committees entirely failed to appreciate.

The Mundy MSS.

The writing of the portion of *Rawlinson MS.* A. 315 comprised in vol. II. of Mundy's Travels is by the same hand as the earlier *Relations*, with corrections and additions inserted by Mundy himself. There are two other complete copies of the matter contained in this volume, one at the British Museum and the other at the India Office.

Sir Paul Pindar's copy, *Harleian MS.* 2286, with which the present transcript has been carefully collated, is described in vol. I.[1] It ends with Mundy's return to England in 1634 and thus covers only what is contained in the first two volumes of the Travels. The corrections and additions in Mundy's hand are more numerous in the Indian portion than in the earlier *Relations*. The Harleian copy appears to have been compared with the Rawlinson version, for the omission of passages contained in the latter is frequently

[1] See pp. lvii, lviii, lx.

indicated by an asterisk. There is some difference in the titles and arrangement of the *Relations* in the two MSS. and it is evident that the Rawlinson transcript was amplified from one of the earlier copies[1].

The India Office copy, which contains tracings of the illustrations found in *Rawl. MS.* A. 315, and consists of *Relations* IV. to XXX. inclusive, was made from that MS. by, or under the direction of, Thomas Fisher, an eminent draughtsman and antiquary, who served the East India Company for forty-six years. Fisher, the younger son of Thomas Fisher, printer, bookseller and alderman at Rochester, was born in 1771 and died at Stoke Newington in 1836. He entered the Company's service as an extra clerk in 1786, was appointed searcher of records in April 1816, and retired on a pension in 1834[2]. The India Office copy of Mundy's MS. contains a note at the head of the first page: "Recd. from Examrs Office 5th Octr. 1814 from Mr Fisher." The volume is a large folio, bound in undressed calf. It has no title-page, and is written on paper stamped with a *fleur de lis* under a crown. The tracings are most carefully and beautifully executed. This MS. appears to have been compared with the British Museum copy, as it contains some of Mundy's emendations found in the *Harl. MS.*

There are, besides, nineteenth century copies of *Relations* V. VI. VII. XV. and of *Relations* XXI. to XXVI. at the British Museum (*Additional MSS.* 19278, 19279, 19280, 19281). These were all acquired at a sale at Arley Castle, the seat of Viscount Valentia, in 1853. They seem to have been made from the India Office copy but contain none of Fisher's tracings of Mundy's illustrations.

Mundy's personal history.

Although some facts of importance have come to light since the publication of vol. I., the personal history of the

[1] Vol. I. pp. lvii, lviii.

[2] For a full account of Thomas Fisher, see the notice in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

traveller remains tantalisingly incomplete. The identity of Mundy's grandfather, father and mother, uncle, paternal aunt and brother, all of whom are mentioned in his MS., is still a matter of conjecture, nor has it been ascertained from which son of the Rialton branch of the family[1] the Penryn Mundys claimed descent. It is possible that Roger Mundy, whose burial is recorded in 1574, may be their ancestor, since he was the second son of John of Rialton. This, however, is only surmise based on the fact that Roger had two sons, Robert and John, and that both a Robert and a John Mundy are found at Penryn early in the seventeenth century.

Mr Percy Dryden Mundy, an authority on the history of the family, questions the accuracy of Nichols, whose account of the Mundy descent was adopted in vol. I.[1] He says, "Sir John Mundy, Mayor of London, who died in 1537, *not* 1538, was, as far as I can discover, a Buckinghamshire man, and I do not think of any very distinguished family. Certainly the Sir John Mundy, 1495 (if such a person existed at all, which I doubt), was not the father of the Mayor, and I am convinced that the John Mundy, *temp.* Edward I., and the eight following generations given by Nichols are the products of some herald's imagination."

The first Mundys to settle in Cornwall were Thomas, Prior of Bodmin, and his brother John, known as John of Rialton[2]. Mr Mundy has compiled an interesting memoir of the former from which, with his permission, I have extracted the following brief notes. Thomas Mundy, *alias* Wansworthe, the last Prior of Bodmin, was a younger son of Sir John Mundy, Kt., Mayor of London in 1522, by his wife Juliana daughter of William Browne Mayor of London....In *Exchequer Depositions Elizabeth, Cornwall*, 18 *Trinity*, No. 1, it is stated that "one Thomas Vivian prior of Bodmin in his death bedde [1 June 1533] dyd declare unto Nicholas Prydeaux his servant that none of his bretherne beinge Chanons of the said priory were

[1] See vol. I. p. xiv.

[2] See vol. I. p. xiv.

meate and able to be prior there, and to succeed him, and therefore comended the aforesaid (*sic*) Thomas Mundy then a Channon of Martyn [Merton] Abbey in Surrey, neare London, to be prior after him." After the death of Prior Vivian, Nicholas Prideaux "so laboured and dealt in the said cause with the Lord Cromwell [Thomas Cromwell] and others that by his special travayll...one John Symons by greate labor of S^r^ John Arundell of Lanheren, Knight, and others, being placed prior of Bodmyn aforesaid, was removed[1], put oute, and displaced of his said office, and the said (*sic*) Monday placed and stalled prior ther...."

Mundy was confirmed successor to Symons in May 1534, surrendered his monastery with eight of his brethren in February 1538, and was granted a pension in 1559. In 1542 (Hennessey, *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiae Londinensis*, p. 127), he was appointed to the parish of St Leonard, Foster Lane, London, and in 1547 was attainted and imprisoned. His will[2], dated 1548, was proved in 1554.

With regard to the traveller's grandfather, Peter Mundy, "Chanoon or Chantor" (? canon or precentor) of Glaseney College[3], there is some difficulty. If he were really a canon of a monastic foundation, he probably came with, or followed, his relative the Prior of Bodmin to Cornwall. In that case it is unlikely that he founded a family, unless, indeed, he renounced his vocation at the Dissolution and settled down as a burgess of Penryn. Mr Mundy tells me that Glaseney College, established in 1270, was situated "at the bottom of the Bishop's Park in Penryn," and that The College acknowledged the King's supremacy in 1534. If Peter Mundy senior became a layman, he may be identical with the Peter Mundy who was a resident and taxpayer of Penryn in 1571 and 1585[4].

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[1] John Symons succeeded on the 6th July 1533, but resigned in the spring of the following year. (P. D. M.)

[2] P. C. C. 19 *More*.

[3] See vol. I. p. xiii.

[4] *Lay Subsidies*, *Cornwall*, 88:232 and 88:236 (Public Record Office).

The evidence as to our author's father is even more vague. I have been unable to verify Tonkin's statement regarding Peter's parentage[1], nor have I found any mention of a Richard Mundy at Penryn in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Mr Mundy's researches have resulted in the discovery of three ratepayers of the Mundy family in the borough of Penryn at this period, Anthony, Robert and John. These were all probably related to Peter Mundy, though no proof is at present forthcoming. The administration of the goods of "Anthony Monday of Budock[2]" was granted to his daughter, Philippa Bowyer in 1644[3], and Robert Mundy, as already stated, was buried at Penryn in October 1646[4]. Of the death and burial of any John Mundy of Penryn later than 1604, when Peter's father was still alive, I have found no trace. Since we know, from the traveller's own statements, that his uncle and father had business relations in Spain, it is just possible that the John Mundy who died abroad and whose goods were administered by Sir (? Nicholas) Parker in May 1648[5] was Peter's father. But this is mere conjecture based on the fact that Peter has no mention of his parents after 1635 and that, as will be seen later, he called his elder son John.

The attempt to identify the traveller's uncle and brother has also resulted in failure. An inventory of the goods of the Rev. John Jackson, who married Mundy's paternal aunt[6], was taken in 1617 and "exhibited" in 1623[7], but there is no mention of a widow or other relation.

As regards Peter Mundy himself, the result of my own enquiries and of Mr Mundy's extensive researches is more encouraging. The parish registers of S. Gluvias Penryn contain the entries of the baptisms of John and Peter, sons

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[1] See vol. I. p. xiii.

[2] The word "Penryn" is scored through.

[3] Wills and Administrations of the Consistory Court, Exeter.

[4] See vol. I. p. xiv.

[5] Administrations, P. C. C.

[6] See vol. I. p. xiii.

[7] Wills and Administrations in the Principal Registry of the Bishop of Exeter.

of Peter and Anne Mundy[1] of Penryn. The former was baptised in December 1648 and the latter in March 1651. Now, Peter Mundy tells us that he started on his European travels in 1640 and that he returned to Falmouth in 1647[2]. It is therefore probable that he married in that year, or early in 1648, but no record of the event has been traced. The next reference to the traveller is in 1664, when he was a resident in Penryn Borough. The name of "Mr Peter Mundey" appears among the list of those paying Hearth Taxes in that year[3]. Mr P. D. Mundy points out that the "Mr" seems to denote that Peter was a person of some importance, and it is plain from his MS. that he returned to Penryn in 1663[4] with the intention of ending his days there. The endeavour to establish the date of our author's death has, so far, been unsuccessful, but that he died at Penryn, either at the end of 1667 or shortly after, seems likely, both from the sudden termination of his MS.[4], and from the following reference in Aubrey's *Brief Lives* to which the late Mr W. P. Courtney drew my attention. "—— Mundy (16— 166—). Mr — Munday, a merchant, was a great traveller, and travelled from Archangel to the East Indies by land. He wrote *Memoires* of all his journeys, a large folio, wherein he had draughts of their cities, habits [dress], customs, etc. He had a great collection of natural rarities, coynes, prints, etc. Mr Baker [print-seller by the Royal Exchange] knew him. He died at Penrhyn in Cornwall about 20 yeares since. Quaere for them[5]."

As Mr Courtney justly remarks[6], Aubrey's notes are

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[1] In one entry Anne Mundy's name is given as Agnes.

[2] See vol. I. p. xvii.

[3] *Lay Subsidies, Cornwall*, Public Record Office. (Communicated by Mr P. D. Mundy.)

[4] See vol. I. p. xvi.

[5] This is Aubrey's memorandum, meaning that he intended to enquire about Mundy's curios. *Brief Lives, chiefly of Contemporaries... by John Aubrey.* Edited by Andrew Clark. Oxford, 1898 (vol. II. p. 90).

[6] *Notes and Queries*, 24 Dec. 1910, p. 506.

"very inadequate in strictness of statement," as for instance that Mundy went to India "from Archangel." Still, his account is a help towards fixing the time of Mundy's death. Aubrey's *Lives* were collected between 1669 and 1696, and therefore, if his "about 20 yeares" is approximately correct, the date of Mundy's death cannot be later than 1676 and is probably a few years earlier. Before the publication of vol. III. it is hoped to establish this fact beyond a doubt.

Anne Mundy was presumably considerably her husband's junior, as she did not die until 1699. The burial of "Anne Mundy, widow," is recorded in the S. Gluvias registers on the 9th January of that year. She outlived her son John and apparently also her son Peter. Her will[1], dated in May 1697, soon after John's death, was proved in 1699. Her bequests seem to show that she was a Bolitho before marriage, for her "brother's sonne John Bolitho of Penzance" and her "nephew's sonne Thomas Bolitho" were both legatees. It is possible, however, that "brother" may be equivalent to brother-in-law. The only other relative mentioned in the will is a "Cozen John Odger of Penryn." The "picture of my sonne Peter Mundy" was bequeathed to Richard Pearn. Anne Mundy's will, too, helps to explain how the Mundy MS. became the property of the Worth family[2], for she leaves bequests to "Mr John Worth" and to "Mrs Jane Worth and her son John Worth." Now, when Tonkin examined Mundy's MS. it was the property of the "Relict of John Worth Junr." It seems therefore likely that Anne Mundy gave or bequeathed her husband's unpublished writings to one of the John Worths, though how the MS. passed from the Worths into the hands of Thomas Rawlinson is not known.

John Mundy, elder son of Peter and Anne Mundy, died in Spain. His will[3], dated 28th August 1696, was proved on the 10th May 1697. He describes himself as

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[1] Wills, P. C. C. 61 *Pett.*

[2] See vol. I. p. lxiii.

[3] P. C. C. 99 *Pyne.*

"of St Marys [Puerto S. Maria], Spain" and as the "legitimate son of Peter and Anne Mundy the first deceased." He states that he was born in Penryn, was a Roman Catholic at the time of his death and had no children. His mother Anne was his chief legatee and he left numerous bequests to Roman Catholic charities of St Mary's and elsewhere. Among these was one to "12 poor widows" of "12 mantos [cloaks] and as many petticoats of Hounscot[1] to be made at my charge." John Mundy was evidently a man of substance who not only had "Spanish concerns" but also "concerns" in the North of England. He mentions no relative except his mother, and with his death and that of Anne Mundy the family of the traveller apparently became extinct.

Regarding the death of John's younger brother Peter, there is less certainty. It seems probable that he is the Peter Mundy of London, merchant, whose will is dated 30th April 1695 and was proved on the 9th August 1695[2]. The testator leaves everything to Francis Paynter, who proved the will, with the exception of £10 to his "dear Mother." If the London merchant were Anne Mundy's son, it would account for there being no mention of him (beyond his "picture") in his mother's will, as he was dead before she disposed of her property. The only other Peter Mundy whose will has come to light is a seaman who died in February 1690[3], but I very much doubt his connection with the traveller since his will is only attested by his "mark."

The Cavalletto at Verona.

(*Additional Note to Vol. I.* p. 101.)

Mundy writes, under date the *7th August 1620*: "Wee proceeded to Villa Nova...from thence to the Cittie of

[1] Hounscot, or Hunscote, was a woollen cloth which derived its name from the hamlet of Hunscote in the parish of Charlcote near Stratford-on-Avon, where it was woven.

[2] Wills, P. C. C. (Communicated by Mr P. D. Mundy.)

[3] Wills, P. C. C. 184 *Gee*.

Verona and lodged at the Cavalettee." At the time of publication I stated (note 5) that I was unable to trace the Cavalletto Inn at Verona. The Rev. H. Maynard Smith has since pointed out that in 1646 Evelyn stopped at "The Cavaletto just over the monument of the Scaligeri[1]" and that John Raymond[2] also stopped there in 1647. Dr L. P. Tessitori of Udine, who has kindly made researches on the spot, informs me that the inn known as Il Cavalletto was situated by the Arche degli Scaligeri and that the name is retained in one of two lanes off the Piazza Erbe and the Via Scala Mazzanti[3]. In this lane (Vicolo del Cavalletto) there is still an old and dilapidated inn, the Trattoria del Cavalletto.

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[1] Evelyn's *Diary* (Every Man's Library ed.), I. 213.

[2] *Il Mercurio Italico*, ed. 1648, p. 232.

[3] L. Simeone, *Verona: Guida Storica*, etc., 3d ed., 1910, p. 35. "Due vicoli cioè Due Mori e Cavalletto che ricavarono il loro nome da osterie. Il vicolo del Cavalletto...almeno ha avuto per patronimico un albergo celebre per aver alloggiato nel 1584 il Montaigne, quando passò per Verona."

RELATION IV.

A JOURNALL OF A VOYAGE MADE IN THE GOOD SHIPP *EXPEDITION*[1], BURTHEN 350 TUNNS, THOMAS WATTS[2] MASTER, IN COMPANIE OF THE *JONAH*[3], BURTHEN 800 TUNNS, BOTH BOUND FOR SURATT IN EAST INDIA,

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[1] The *Expedition*, employed by the Company for a voyage to Batavia in 1626—1627, was ordered to be "made ready" for lading early in February of 1628, "if found sufficient for another voyage." She was supplied with "12 pieces of ordnance instead of 10 as heretofore." Her former master was Randall Jesson. After reaching Surat, the vessel was sent to Gombroon (Bandar 'Abbās), in December 1628, and was dispatched to England in February 1629. She was not again employed by the Company. See *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1625—1634.

[2] Thomas Watts, "late master of the *London*," was entertained as master of the *Expedition*, at £6 per month, on the 4th February 1628. On the 5th March he petitioned to "have his ship laid over with that tempered stuff which is said will prevent the danger of fire." In October 1630 Watts was appointed master of the *Hopewell* at £7 per month, and received a gratuity of £10 "to set him to sea and encourage him to proceed with cheerfulness and alacrity in his voyage." He sailed to the coast of Coromandel and Bengal, and thence to Bantam, where he died intestate in 1632. See *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1625—1634.

[3] The *Jonah* or *Jonas* had been in the Company's service for some years and had made voyages to Surat in 1621 and 1624. She returned to England in 1626. In January 1627 she was surveyed to ascertain if she could "be made serviceable for another voyage," and was refitted. She came home in 1631, and in 1632 was again sent to Surat, whence she made voyages to Persia, Masulipatam, etc., and did not return to England till 1635. She was then repaired and let out on hire for the King's use. In 1637 she once more went to Surat. In 1640 she made her last voyage. She sailed for Bantam and was lost at sea on her return in the following year. See *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1625—1634; *Court Minutes*, 1636—1643; *English Factories*, 1618—1636.

UNDER THE COMMAUNDE OF CAPTAIN RICHARD SWANLY[1], AS FOLLOWETH[2].

BEING entertained by the honourable East India Company as afore mentioned[3], I was by them appointed to proceede on the *Expedition* abovesaid; and although my comeinge abord of her was in the Downes, yett I doe begin her voyage from her departure Blackwall *vizt.*

The 6th March 1627 [1628][4]. Our Shipp weighed from Blackwall and that night shee Anchored att Gravesend.

9th March 1628. The Shipps company entered into whole Pay.

12th March 1628. Shee sett saile from Gravesend and anchored betwene Shewberrynesse and Lee [Leigh].

13th March 1628. Shee wayed from thence and anchored Eastward of the Nowre.

14th March 1628. Setting saile from thence, she anchored neere the Kentish Knock[5]. That night shee

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[1] Richard Swanley, master's mate in the *Jonas* 1621—1623, "came home master of the *Royall James*" in 1626. In October 1627 he offered himself to the Court to "serve the Company in the Indies at 10 *li.* per month," but was requested "to bethink himself of a less demand." He was eventually entertained at £100 per annum. He commanded the *Jonas* until January 1633, when he was transferred to the *Hart*, and on the 7th October 1635 he received a gratuity of 100 nobles for "bringing the *Hart* into the Downs without touching at any port in the west country." In the same year he joined Courteen's Association and renewed his intercourse with Mundy, as will be shown in vol. III. See *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1624—1629; *Court Minutes*, 1635—1639, p. 102.

[2] The copy of *Relation* IV. in *Harleian MS.*, No. 2286, agrees substantially with the version here given. There are minor differences, several omissions, and a few additions. The important variations are noted as they occur.

[3] See vol. I. pp. 144—145 and note. Mundy had petitioned for employment on the 31st October 1627.

[4] Mundy's arrangement of dates in his diaries varies. Sometimes he puts the date of the month before the year and sometimes after. In some cases he adds "ditto" for the year or omits it altogether. For the reader's convenience, the month and year are given throughout this volume as above.

[5] A shoal 15 miles N.N.E. of the North Foreland.

wayed againe and the next morning shee anchored off of the North foreland.

16*th March* 1628. She sett saile from thence, and that afternoone anchored in the Downes.

17*th March* 1628. Before day it proved a Storme. I say it begun to blowe very hard and proved a storme, which lastest (*sic*) till the 18th in the Afternoone.

24*th March* 1628. About this tyme I came downe to Deale with some of the Committees, they comeinge to dispeed the Shipps out of the Downes.

27*th March* 1628. Wee sett saile out of the Downes, and at six a Clocke in the afternoone, wee sawe the Nesse [Dungeness] about 5 or 6 Leagues of.

28*th March* 1628. In the morninge, it being hazy, wee could not see the Land, and the afternoone proved raynie, but before night wee had sight of St Albones[1] bearinge N.W. 7 leagues offe.

29*th March* 1628. Wee sawe the Start [Start Point] from offe the fore yard Arme; this afternoone much raigne.

30*th March* 1628. Wee sawe Rame head[2]; much rayne, and so much wynd that wee tooke in both our Topp sailes and Spritt sayles. This day wee saw two Shipps, the one a Man of Warr of Flushinge, the other a Brazeilman, her prize, [laden with] 700 chests of Sugar[3]. Haveing spoken with the Flushingar, wee left him[4] and proceeded.

31*st March* 1628. Att two in the morneinge, wee sett our Topsailes againe. Att six wee saw the Lizard[5], and

[1] St Aldhelms or St Albans Head, a headland S.W. of Swanage.

[2] A point 4 miles S.W. of Devonport, on the Cornish coast.

[3] In retaliation for Spanish aggressions in Europe, the Dutch attacked the Portuguese settlements in Brazil and nearly destroyed them. Portugal had been annexed by Philip II. of Spain and did not regain her independence until 1640.

[4] For a note on the use of both "he" and "she" for ships, up to the 18th century, see Streynsham Master, ed. Temple, I., 93.

[5] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 has a marginal note here—"The

att Noone wee were by Judgment 26 leagues off. This day wee spake with 4 shipps, *Vizt.*, the *Abigall* (Admirall)[1], the *Charitie* (vice admirall) and in them the Two Captaine Kirks, and Captaine Hutchins in a Pinnace, theis three bound for the Azores, and the *Blessinge*, Captaine Morris, bound for the Maderas[2].

In the foregoinge Moneth, I have omitted the Table which each of the followinge monethes have, by reason as yett wee beinge in our owne Channell, there is noe accompte of Latitude, Longitude nor variation required to bee kept; Also the windes very variable, and for the courses and distances on our owne Coast not unknowne to any indifferent [ordinary] Seaman.

From the 6th of March, the tyme wee sett sayle from Blackwall, unto the 31th Ditto att Noone beinge 26 leagues off the Lizard, by computation wee have gone about 600 Miles.

The use of the following tables[3].

You are to take notice for the understandinge of the followeing Tables and all others of the like kinde in this Booke:—1. That in the first Colume towards the left hand are sett downe the most notable things happeninge in that Moneth[4]. 2. In the Second, the dayes of the said moneth. 3. In the Third, other Sea Occurrants. 4. In the Fowreth is sett downe the

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Lizard from whence we reckon the Longitude." Compare Herbert, p. 2, "The Lizards point...from whence, to the extreamest cape of Afrique, wee compute our longitude, and not from the Azores the first Meridian."

[1] A term used to indicate the ship carrying the commander of a fleet.

[2] On the 17th December 1627 a warrant for issuing Letters of Marque was made out to Gervase Kircke and others, owners of the *Abigail* of London (commanded by Captain David Kircke) and of the *Charity* of London. On the 15th March 1628 a similar warrant was made out to George Henley, John Morris and others, owners of the *Blessing* of London.

William Hutchins was captain of the *Sapphire* of London, Clement Harby owner. See *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1628—1629.

[3] This and the following paragraph headings appear as marginal notes in the original.

[4] These remarks refer to the tabular log which follows in the MS.

Latitude North or South. 5. In the Fifth, the Longitude East or West. 6. In the Sixth, the variation of the Compasse from the North towards the East or West. 7. In the Seaventh, the wyndes wee have had. 8. In the Eighth, the Course wee kept. 9. And in the Nineth, the Miles wee ran.

Moreover, their dayes are thus recconed. From the last of March att Noone to the first of Aprill att Noone is accompted the first of Aprill, because that day att Noone they observe the Sunne, or when they may not, yett they make upp their Recconings as aforesaid, and Consequently the second of Aprill is accounted from the first day att Noone to that Day att Noone &ca. And whereas I say overhead, Aprills Abstract, is because it is an Abreviatt or Abstract of the Marriners Accompte from whome I had it[1].

Aprills Abstract[2].

1*st Aprill* 1628. Captain Kirkes Fleete parted from us.

7*th Aprill* 1628. A sayle seene.

9*th Aprill* 1628. The 9 Currant Captaine Morris departed from us.

11*th Aprill* 1628. Lansarote[3] seene.

12*th Aprill* 1628. Fuerte Ventura[4] [seen].

13*th Aprill* 1628. Easter day.

16*th Aprill* 1628. Wee past amonge the Canarie Islands, and 5 leagues off of Gran Canaries it selfe wee saw the Peeke of Teneriff, 35 leagues off, seemeinge hard by, and in my opinion is the highest hill in the World, att least that I have seene.

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[1] The log of the *Expedition* in 1628 is at the India Office. It is catalogued as *Marine Records*, vol. L.

[2] In the original there is a tabular log of eight columns, viz., date, remarks on wind and currents, latitude, longitude, E. variation, winds, course, miles. This has been omitted and only the marginal notes and supplementary remarks are here reproduced. These are entered under their proper dates.

[3] Lanzarote, the most easterly of the Canary Islands. See Herbert, p. 5.

[4] The island of Fuerte Ventura lies between Lanzarote and Grand Canary.

18*th Aprill* 1628. Tropick Cancey.

22*th Aprill* 1628. The Sun our Zenith.

In this whole Moneth wee ran the some of Miles 2727[1].

Mays Abstract.

3*rd May* 1628. Tronados[2], Thunder, lightninge, rayne. Tronados in Portugues signifieth only Thunder[3], but is a name given by them for all the fowle weather etts. hindrances comonly mett hereabouts, by reason of the greate and frequent Thunder among the rest. For within 5 or 6 degrees, as they crosse the equinoctiall in this Longitude, either on the one side of the line or the other, they seldome misse of very greate thunder, lightninge, raine, suddaine gusts, calmes and variable winds, theis for many dayes together; but by reason the wynds continue not longe on one poynt, there is noe great Sea[4].

15*th May* 1628. A saile seene.

21*th May* 1628. Crost the Equinoctiall, and from hence South Latitude.

Sailed this moneth, miles.....2283[5].

Junes Abstract.

1*st June* 1628. Whittsunday.

10*th June* 1628. Tropic o' Capricorn.

18*th June* 1628. Crost the Meridian of the Lizard.

21*th June* 1628. Pintados seene, sea birds.

Pintados are certaine Sea birds spotted all over white and black, seene 2 or 300 leagues off of the Cape[6]. Pintado

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[1] According to the log, the number of miles should be 2805.

[2] The log has "turnathoes."

[3] Mundy is in error. Tornado, Sp. *tornada*, a turning about, is generally applied to a local whirlwind. See Ovington, p. 37.

[4] In *Relation* XXI. fol. 114, Mundy speaks of tornadoes as "a belt of sea" and writes, "Wee accompted our selves to be in the Tronados." See Herbert, p. 7; and Fryer, ed. Crooke (Hak. Soc.), I., 47.

[5] In *Harl. MS.* 2286 the number of miles is 2286, but in the log (*Marine Records*, vol. L.) only 1779.

[6] The Cape pigeon (Port. *pintado*, painted), a kind of petrel. These

in Portugues is as much to say as painted. Wee also saw very whyte birds with one or two longe feathers in their Tayles, seldome seene but betwene the two Tropicks, and therefore by Seamen Called Tropicque Birds[1].

23*th June* 1628. Velvett wings with white bellyes [seen][2].

29*th June* 1628. Many white birds seene.

Sailed this Moneth Miles .....2785.

Julys Abstract.

1*st July* 1628. Wee saw many black birds, as black and as bigge as Crowes[3].

3*rd July* 1628. Wee sawe many seales and Trombes, which are longe sea weedes, and certaine signes of being neere the Cape[4]. This day wee also saw land, and made it to bee the Cape of Bonesperansa or Good hope. Wee put not in by reason all our Men were in very good health, soe past forward.

8*th July* 1628. Wee broke our foryard.

26*th July* 1628. Wee sawe the great Island of Madagascar, or St Laurence.

27*th July* 1628. Wee Anchored in Augustine Bay[5], where wee stayed out this moneth, and untill the 5th of

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birds are further described and illustrated by Mundy in *Relation* XXIX. (fol. 165 of the *Rawl. MS.*).

[1] The Tropic bird (*phaethon*) has been so called by sailors from early times. Its chief characteristics are the four toes of each foot united by a web, and the great length of the two middle tail-quills.

[2] Mundy is alluding to the Sea-mew (*mangas de velludo*, velvet sleeves), called by Fryer "Mango-faleudos." See Fryer, ed. Crooke, I. 51; and Pyrard, ed. Gray, I. 21, II. 294.

[3] Probably the "divells bird" of Herbert (p. 19).

[4] For contemporary allusions to the seaweed known as *tromba marina*, see Jourdain, ed. Foster (Hak. Soc.), p. 11 and *f.n.*; Herbert, p. 20; Pyrard, ed. Gray, I. 20, II. 294; *English Factories*, 1624—1629, p. 23. Mundy has a further remark on this weed in *Relation* XIX.

[5] St Augustine's Bay on the S.W. of Madagascar. The latitude is correctly given.

the next, to refresh our Men. It lyes in 23° 27′ South latitude and 16° 30′ West variation.

Sailed this Moneth Miles .....2283.

Augusts Abstract.

5*th August* 1628. Sett saile from Augustine Bay.

16*th August* 1628. Wee saw Mohilla [Comoro Islands] and lay a hull[1] 7 howers.

17*th August* 1628. Wee Anchored in 32 fathome.

20*th August* 1628. Wee. departed and begun our Longitude from thence W., and from the 24th to the last [of August] Easterly. The same day wee past by Comoro, I say the 20th Currentt.

29*th August* 1628. Wee Crossed the Equinoctiall lyne, and came into North Lattitude.

Sailed this Moneth Miles .....1863.

Septembers Abstract.

1*st September* 1628. The Sun our Zenith.

8*th September* 1628. Wee saw a Saile, fetcht her upp and seized on her, shee belonginge to Goga[2] over against Swally hole[3]; And because her passe was not Currant wee brought her to Swally, where within fewe dayes, she was released by the President [of Surat].

24*th September* 1628. A sayle seene.

25*th September* 1628. Land seene.

26*th September* 1628. Valentines Peeke[4]. Anchored in 16 and 15 fathom.

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[1] "To strike hull in a storm is to take in her sails and lash the helm on the lee side of the ship, which is termed 'to lie a-hull.'" Smyth, *Sailor's Word-book.*

[2] Goghā, on the Kāthiāwār side of the Gulf of Cambay.

[3] Swally (Suwālī) Hole or Swally Marine, the roadstead N. of the mouth of the river Tāpti.

[4] Under date 26th September the log has—"At six in the morning we saw St Vallentines peike. Itt lyes to the Northward John Devacus [Sanjān] and in sight off Daman." *Marine Records*, vol. L. Valentine Peak is the European name for Mahālakshmī, a mountain about

27th September 1628. Sett sayle and anchored in 18 fathom.

[Sailed this Moneth Miles] .....1743.

Moreover, from Valentines Peeke to Suratt is accompted 120.

Is sailed in all this Moneth Miles 1863, whereof 10 by land from Swally Towne to Surratt.

Concerning the Tables of Lattitude etts.

September 1628. As touchinge the former Tables of Lattitude, Longitude, &ca., I was beholdinge for them to Mr Daniell Hall[1], one of our Masters Mates, out of whose observations I had them, which I have somewhat altered and much abreviated. For example, the 24th of September, our Course is sett downe by him E. 23° 40′ South, and I have sett it downe E.S.E. which is 1° 10′ more Easterly then his, for 11° 15′ make one poynt of the Compasse. Likewise for the Wynde. When it is said it is variable from such a poynt to such a poynt, I take the meane, As the 26th of August, the winde from S.E. to S. I have put it downe, S.S.E., which is the midle poynt betwene both.

Many things omitted and why.

I have also omitted divers other things, as the bearing of poynts, hills, headlands, &ca., the precise tyme of the windes shiftinge, the sundry tymes, grounds and depths of anchoring and weyinge, whereof hee made 3 or 4 lynes for each day, which concerned him soe to doe as a Seaman, But they not soe pertinent to my purpose, I have reduced to one Lyne; thereby only that a Man may suddainely [at once] finde what Lattitude and Longitude wee were in, what variation of the Compasse and wyndes wee had, what course wee kept and miles wee runn, and consequently, whereabouts wee were any day [of the moneth required] that wee were att Sea, or any other notable thinge befalling that tyme. And whereas in some

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12 miles east of Dāhānu. Herbert, p. 34, calls it "an ambitious piramid of Natures work."

[1] Daniel Hall, "master's mate" of the *Expedition*, was the compiler of the log of that vessel. See *Marine Records*, vol. L.

places mention is made of a Northerly or Southerly Current, it is to bee understood, it setts Northerly or Southerly, but when wee speake of the wynde, it cometh from the place mentioned.

Of Measuring the Shippes Way.

Most commonly they account the way of the shipp by the Logg (a little board fitted for the purpose), which they lett drive a sterne bearinge lyne, soe that 7 fathome[1] to a halfe minitt glasse makes a mile an hower by their Computation. But it should bee somewhat lesse if a Thousand Geometricall Paces att Five foote to a pace, which is 5000 foote, make a Mile, For there being 60 whole minitts in an hower is 120 halfes att 7 fathome per halfe minitt, makes 840 fathome att six foote per fathome, amounts to 5040 foote; soe that there is 40 foote over plus, not one in the hundred, which is but a small matter.

28*th September* 1628. Mr John Willoughby[2] and my selfe went in the *Jonahs* Barge from of [off] Valentines Peeke with the Companies letters to advise of our approach[3], and to see how matters stood in theis parts betwene the Portugales and us, as also the Dutch[4].

29*th September* 1628. Towards night, wee were neere the Barr of Swally and sawe 5 or 6 shipps[5] rideing within

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[1] *Harl. MS.* 2286 adds—"called a knott."

[2] John Willoughby served the Company in India from 1618 to 1626, when he returned to England. In 1628, "in regard of his language, 10 years experience and other abilities," he was re-entertained as a factor at £50 per annum. In 1632 he was sent to Persia, where he died, in 1639. See *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1617—1634; *English Factories*, 1618—1636; *Court Minutes*, 1640—1643, p. 6.

[3] The log of the *Expedition* has the following entry—"Captain Swanly sent his barge up to Swally rode with two merchants to send advise to the President off Suratt off our saffe arrivall."

[4] On the 8th November 1628 President Wylde wrote from Surat to Bantam: "Here we have with the Dutch a faire and freindly outward correspondencie; what their and our harts are each to other, God and ourselves best knowe." Relations with the Portuguese were less amicable, "the Viceroy of Goa having utterly given out to extirpate both the Dutch and us from this northern trade." *English Factories*, 1624—1629, pp. 291, 303.

[5] The log mentions only four ships.

the hole, which wee conceived to bee English, butt theie proved Hollanders, and haveing bene a'board the Admirall, called the *Utrech*, wee went a shoare to Swally Towne[1], about three quarters of a mile from the water side, and there wee understood our President[2] was newly gon from thence to Suratt, beinge come downe, thinckinge the Fleete had bene English, whome wee followed, and over tooke that night. After deliverie of the Companies letters, hee returned back to meete our Shipps, and Mr Willoughby with him, but I proceeded toward Suratt.

30*th September* 1628. I arrived att Suratt, where were many English merchants, by whome I was freindly welcomed. The same day our shipps came in to Swally, and thus, by Gods permission, wee came to our desired Porte, haveing bene 6 monethes 3 dayes from the tyme of our setting sale out of the Downes [27th March 1628] till our Anchoringe in Porte Swally, and gon by nearest Computation 13,713 miles from Blackwall to this place[3].

[Mundy's Notes on the Voyage.]

In the aforesaid Voyage, there is a breife mention made of Cape Bonesperance, St Laurence, Mohill, etts., which places I will now a litle insist upon for soe much as I sawe.

The Cape of Bonesperance, or Good Hope, is it selfe a litle Island or rocke, entringe a good way into the Sea, within which is a very high hill, Levell on the Topp, therefore by us called the Table[4]. Under it lyes the Bay

[1] Suwālī, a busy seaport town in the 17th and 18th centuries, is now an unimportant village. It is situated about 12 miles west of Surat.

[2] Richard Wylde. He went to India with Captain Weddell's fleet in 1624 and succeeded Thomas Kerridge as President of Surat in April 1628. Two years later he returned to England. See *English Factories*, 1624—1633. Herbert, p. 35, speaks of "Master Wyld" as a "modest understanding Gentleman."

[3] According to Mundy's own figures the distances traversed amount to 13,804 miles. This total does not agree with the reckoning of the log and it is impossible to reconcile the discrepancies.

[4] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 has an addition here: "*S. James*

of Soldania [Saldanha], soe called by some, and by others Table Bay[1]. Hard by it is the Sugar loafe, a very high Peeke[2]. Within [3] leagues lyes Penguin Island[4], and [3] Leagues to the Northward, Conie Island. Theis places wee only sawe, but put not in to the road, by reason our men were in Good health, soe passed by. This Cape is accounted the most famous in the world. Its discription, with the People, their Manners and Trade is amply sett downe in divers places of Purchas his Pilgrimage[5].

St Lawrence, antiently called Madagascar, is held to bee one of the greatest Islands that are yett discovered[6]. The Land about Augustine Bay is faire, round and pleasant to see to, aboundinge with woods and a large freshwater river[7], both which are replenished with foule and fish of severall sorts, differinge from those in our parts. The people black, well proportioned[8], strongly lym'd, active,

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Mount. To the Northward against the Bay of Soldania is another small hill called James Mount. To the Northward of that, some leagues off, is Conny Island, where are a number of little Beasts, which our people call Connyes, although much different in shape. There are allsoe Penguns and Seales." James Mount is described by Mundy in *Relation* XIX. Conie (now Dassen Island) is 35 miles north of Cape Town. See Herbert, p. 13, for the "Conies (or Cats rather) great and rammish."

[1] The term Saldanha Bay is now restricted to the small inlet due north of Cape Town, but in the 17th century "Soldania" and Table Bay were synonymous.

[2] During his homeward voyage (*Relation* XIX.) Mundy gives a full description of the Cape of Good Hope, Table Mt., Table Bay and the Sugar Loaf.

[3] There are blanks here in the original.

[4] Penguin Island, now known as Robben (Seals) Island is described by Mundy in *Relation* XIX.

[5] See pp. 761—764 of Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*, ed. 1626.

[6] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 adds—"Soe much I can say of my owne experience." Madagascar retained its Portuguese name of S. Lorenzo (St Laurence) for more than a century.

[7] The Onitahy. St Augustine's Bay on the S.W. of Madagascar was the usual port of call for ships outward bound to India.

[8] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 has—"The people verie black, and not soe black as well proportioned."

healthie, tractable and sociable with us[1]: the haire of their heads made into little plates, hanging round about, and somme have part thereof bound upright on the Crowne of their heads, which they anoynt with butter[2], oyle, or grease, which of them come first to hand. There weapons, Darts: generally goeinge naked, except haveing a Cloth to cover their Privities; but the better sort have a large peece of Stripe Couloured Cotten Cloth, which they weare sometymes about their Midle and sometymes about their shoulders like litle Mantles. Wee bartered with them Cornelion beades for Bullocks, of which heere are the fairest that I have els where seene, with the great highe[3] bunches on their shoulders, Also sheepe, smooth haired, long bigg Tailes[4], hanginge Eares, coulered like Calves, with great duelopps [dewlaps]. The Cornelion beades aforementioned are by them esteemed above any other Treasure, for, offer them peeces of gold or gold ringes with pretious stones in them, they refuse all for the Bead[5], the other not knowne or accompted of amongst them. Soe that for 7 or 8 of those Beades, scarse worth *7d.* a peece in India, wee should have a Bullock worth 3 or 4 *li.* in England[6].

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[1] Compare Ralph Preston's account, in 1614—"The people [at St Laurence] showing themselves both civil and loving, being the properest men that I have seen." *Letters Received*, II. 255.

[2] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 has—"litle plaites, and these altogeather tyed at the topp of theire heads which they annoynt with butter."

[3] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 has "hughe." The African humped cattle were introduced into Madagascar several hundred years ago. See Dellon, p. 14.

[4] The fat-tailed sheep. They are not indigenous to the island.

[5] Compare Herbert, p. 22—"But if you will buy anything the Ile affoords (I think the Ile it selfe) you must furnish you with...long red Cornelian beades, of which they are as proud, that the owner be it King or subject is oft dethroned, spoyled for it, one string able to put them all in a combustion...for one bead of cornelian you shall have in exchange, Sheep (big tail'd like those in Syria and Persia) Beeves and Buffoles, big-bond, fat and Camel-backt."

[6] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 adds here—"Of this Island alsoe

Mohilla, or Molala, is one of the Islands of Comoro; the others are Comoro it selfe, Johanna, etts. Att Mohilla wee stayed 2 or 3 dayes, and traded for refreshinge, not for beades, but good Rivalls [rials] of eight [Spanish dollars], giveing 2 or 3, and sometymes 4, for a Bullock. This Island is in Compasse about[1] leagues, faire, pleasant and leasurelye ascendinge land, open to an exceedinge highte, full of fruitfull greene Trees of severall sortes, as Coconutts, Plantaines[2], Lemons, oranges, etts. Also Papaes, of which latter some are soe perfectly round every way, as hardly to be discerned with a paire of Compasses, haveinge a hard shell, and within full of meat not unsavourie, some 8 or 9 inches about, somme more, some lesse[3]. The fairest and slekest Goates that I thinck are in any part of the world[4]. Besides also, small Guinny henns, being black, speckled all over with small round white spotts[5].

In conclusion, in my opinion it is a very prettie, pleasant and fruitefull Island, as well for necessetye as delighte, full of shadie woods of strange Trees, Springs and Rilletts of Water. Heere are alsoe Crowes halfe white as our Pies [magpies] are in England; Also Batts, whose winges extend almost an English yard, their bodyes in forme and Coulour like Foxes, though noe bigger then a great Ratt[6]. Theie hang all daye on trees by certaine

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there are large relations else where, as in Purchas, Linscott [Linschoten] etts." Mundy wintered at Madagascar in 1638 and has a further account of the island in *Relation* XXIX.

[1] There is a blank here in the MS.

[2] "The Plantaine for taste and odour second to none in Mohalia." Herbert, p. 28.

[3] The well known *carica papaya; papita*, papaw, poppoy.

[4] Herbert (p. 29) gives the price of goats at Mohilla as sixpence each.

[5] Mundy has a fuller description of the guinea-fowl in *Relation* XXIX. fol. 168.

[6] The flying-fox or fruit bat (*pteropida*). Fryer (ed. Crooke, 1. 69) also found at the Comoro Islands "Crows with white breasts, Buzzards,

hookes att the end of their winges, with their heads downewards, 4 or 500 together, and att night fly abroad.

Comoro [Great Comoro or Angazia] is a huge, highe massie peece of land; but our Shipps never touched there, by reason of the treacherie of the Inhabitants, only att Johanna and Mohilla, where the people are more Civill, though all Mahometans. Wee past by Comoro, and soe proceeded to Suratt.

Yett a few words more of the precedent voyage, and soe will conclude.

In our passage, wee crossed the Equinoctiall twice, *vizt.* once off the Coast of Congo[1], where wee had tirrible Thunder and lightninge, raine and gustes for many dayes, it being usuall hereabouts. The other tyme was off of the Coast of Melinde[2], verie faire weather, which wee had all the voyage with a faire wynde, excepting the Tronadoes as afore mentioned. In Crosseinge the Lyne, the heat tollerable, litle Cold, although wee varied Clymates. Wee saw divers Whales of the Common sort, 3 or 4 att once together, playing about our shipp close aboard, Also a great Fish called a Shovell mouth'd whale[3], somewhat like a Thorneback, but above two fathome broad, and a great number of flyeinge fishes[4]. Divers sorts wee tooke, as Gramposes, Porposes, Sharkes, Albachoris[5], Bonetoes[6], Dolphins, Pilate

and bats bodied like and near as big as a Weasel, with large Wings wove upon strong Gristles."

[1] The term Congo was, at this period, used for the whole of the maritime districts in S.W. Africa.

[2] Malindi, the "Amylinde" of Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 45.

[3] Mundy has a further description of this "great Fish" in *Relation* XXXVI. fol. 228. See also Ovington, p. 65, who calls it a shark.

[4] Mundy has further remarks on flying fish in *Relations* XIX., XXIV. and XXXVI. See also Herbert, pp. 32, 33; Dellon, p. 5; Ovington, p. 36; Fryer, ed. Crooke, I. 35, 36.

[5] A large species of tunny. Ovington, p. 48, says they are "so called from a piece of white flesh that sticks to their heart."

[6] Bonito is the name given to the striped tunny, common in tropical seas. Mundy has further remarks on these fish in *Relation* XXIV. fol. 159. See also Dellon, p. 5; Ovington, p. 48.

[pilot] Fishes, etts[1]. Sondrey sorts of strange sea Fowle, among the rest a Boobye[2], which, lighting on our Yardes, suffereth himselfe to be taken with Mens hands.

Amonge the severall sorts of Fishes aforementioned, I will only decipher the Sharke. The Sharke is a verie daringe ravenous fish, soe that by report hee often seiseth on men and boyes as they are swimminge in the Sea quite sheireing of [the flesh] where soever hee layes hold on, of about 6 or 7 foote longe, appearing most comonly in Calmes, accompanied with small Pilate Fishes and litle suckinge fishes[3] sticking on his back with their bellies upwards. The Pilate fish[4] usually swimminge before his nose and about his head as figure 1[5]. This same bold ravenous fish is easely caught with a peece of Beefe on a great hooke fastned to an iron Chaine as in figure 2[5].

From Mohilla, although the winde and weather were as faire and Sea as smooth as our hartes could wish, soe that wee might have bene at Swally 15 or 20 dayes sooner then wee were, yett did wee shorten sayle, it being the Companies order that noe shipp should approach untill the end of September or thereabouts, because that about that tyme the Raynes began to cease on the Coast of India, and verye daungerous for shippinge untill they bee over, by reason of extraordinary foule weather and very stronge Currants[6].

Thus much for this present voyage outward bound. And for my owne perticuler I found it neither trouble-

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[1] Here and frequently throughout the MS. "etts." signifies "and other."

[2] A name for different species of gannet. See Herbert, pp. 11, 12.

[3] Sucking fishes are further described and illustrated by Mundy in *Relation* XXI. fol. 113. See also Ovington, p. 45.

[4] See Herbert, p. 7; and Ovington, p. 45.

[5] See Illustration No. 1 (figures 1 and 2).

[6] See Ovington, pp. 131 ff., for a description of the "Mussoans" at this period.

No. 1. SHARK: (1) WITH PILOT AND SUCKING FISHES; (2) CAUGHT WITH CHAIN AND HOOK

some nor tedious, there beinge soe good accommodation affoarded the Companies Factors sent out these wayes, haveing had by Gods goodnes a prosperous passage, full of Novelties every daye, which to those that are adicted to see his wonders in strange Countries is alsoe some content. Howsoever, lett all bee done to his glorye, whose blessed name bee praised for our continuall preservation and safe conduct to our desired Porte. Amen.

From London to Suratt in East India is by Computation Miles... 13713[1].

THE OF SEPTEMBER 1628, ABOARD THE GOOD SHIPP *JONAH* BOUND FOR SURATT IN EAST INDIA, AT THE CHARDGE OF THE FAMOUS HONBLE. AND RIGHT WORSHIPFULL EAST INDIA COMPANY[2].

Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God of his infinite goodnes and mercy To graunte unto us the Comaunders, merchaunts, officers and marriners, Servants to the above named famous Company, and passengers in the aforesaid Shipp, safe arivall at our desiered Porte, and takinge into our Considerations the prosperous, healthfull and pleasant passadge which it hath pleased his fatherly goodnes to bestowe upon us, for which we render unto his sacred essence all earnest and harty thanksgivinge which our poore weake and infirme harts are able to conceive and expresse. Wee therefore, in all humble and fervent acknowledgment of our d[e]wties to God and in charitable zeale to Christs poore members upon earth, Have willingly, freely and volluntarily contributed such severall sumes of money as by our perticuler hands hereunder subscribed are expressed, amountinge in all unto the Sum of One hundred Eighty and Sixe Pownds (186 *li.*).

[1] According to Mundy's figures as given in this *Relation*, the distance traversed was 14,404 miles.

[2] *Factory Records*, *Miscellaneous*, pp. 61—63.

To be Imployed in furtherance [of] the Hospitall at Blackwall, a godly and religious worke lately begunn by the Honble. and Right Worshipfull East India Company, For the releife of poore Impotente and decayed persons, maymed, Impoverished and damadged in their service, which Sum or sumes of money we are contented and doe hereby condiscend that the same shalbe deducted out of each mans perticuler wages, and the money so deducted to be detained in the possession of the Right Worshipfull the Governour, Deputy and Comittes, to be by them Imployed to the furtherance of the aforenamed Hospitall in such manner and at such conveniente time as to their worthy discretion shall seem expediente. Provided alwayes that under favour of the worshipfull and worthy Governour, Deputy and Comitties, two requests of ours, as whe suppose reasonable, may be performed, accordinge to the tr[e]we intente of this graunte, or elce the same to be voide and of noe vallidity. The first is that such monies which by order of the said Company are to be levyed by Two pence in the pownd out of each mans wages towards the mainteynance of the said Hospitall[1] may not be stopte but remitted, and wee are not sparinge to shewe our reasons, for that wee desire our benevolence might rather be free and volluntary then Coactive and Impulsive, hopinge thereby to raise a greater Sum towards the effectinge of so pious a worke, And that our good intents and indeavours wilbe more acceptable to Th'almighty.

And Second that a Scedule or rowle fairely written and decently fixed upon a frame of wood, conteyninge therein the severall names and contributions of those that professe their forwardnes to soe good a worke may be hanged up within the said Hospitall in such conveniente place as the worthy Company shall adjudge be seeminge. And the reasons movinge us thereunto are partely to give satisfaction to some wellwillers to this good action, and partely the hope wee conceive this small begeninge wilbe an inducement to others to extend their devotions in more ample manner, For which wee Beseech the Almighty

[1] This deduction proved unpopular and was discontinued after a time.

to incite and stirr up the harts of all such as have or shall taste of the like godnes of God towards them. And wee all joyntly and severally beseech his devine providence to blesse and prosper that worthy famous Company and us with others their faithfull Servants. And that it would please him to accepte of our poore and weake indeavours proceedinge from harts unfeignedly thanckfull for his unspeakable goodnes towards us, as it pleased him to accepte of the poore wyddowes mite in the Gospell, and to inlardge our harts to performance of Godly and charitable exercises for future times as may be most acceptable to his Majestie, accordinge to the meanes and abillities it shall please him to bestowe upon us. *Soli Deo Gloria.*

Wee desire That it would please the right Worshipfull Company to take notice that hereby wee intend not to exempte any from payinge Two pence in the pownd (accordinge to their order) unlesse they Subscribe hereunder a greater Sum then that will amounte unto. If any should be backward herein, as wee trust and are well perswaded to the contrary, Their names shalbe also hereunto annexed that then it might please the Company to use such courses as may seeme answerable to their worthy discretions.

	£	s.	d.
I Richard Swanly Commaunder give Twenty pownds	20	00	00
Witness my hand Rich: Swanley			
I John Willoughby Merchaunt give Eight pownds	08	00	00

[Here follow the names of four more merchants and then a long list of seamen with the amounts subscribed by each, making a total of £186.]

A Guifte by us given the *Expedition* her Company towards the mainteynance of the Hospitall at Blackwall[1].

[1] The history of *The East India Company's Hospital at Poplar*, including its inception in 1617, its actual establishment in 1627, its rebuilding in 1802 and its final demolition in 1866, has been fully traced by Mr William Foster, from whose article in *The Home Counties Magazine* for June 1910 the information in the preceding note is taken.

	£	s.	d.
I Thomas Watts Master give Sixe pownds	06	00	00
Witness my hand Tho: Watts			
I Peeter Mundye Merchaunt give Three pownds	03	00	00
Daniel Hall, masters mate	04	10	00

[Here follow the names of 55 of the rest of the crew with the amounts subscribed, making a total of £71. 9*s*. 0*d*.]

RELATION V.

SOME PASSAGES SINCE MY ARRIVALL ATT SURATT IN SEPTEMBER ANNO 1628 TILL MY DEPARTURE FOR AGRA IN NOVEMBER ANNO 1630, WITH A DISCRIPTION OF SUNDREY PERTICULARITIES IN AND ABOUT SURATT, *VIZT.*

AFTER my comeinge and setlinge a shoare at Suratt[1], I was imployed to write in the office[2], as comonly all new Commers are, exceptinge Men of place; And there I continued untill the departure of Mr Richard Wilde on the *Charles*[3], Captaine John Weddle[4], in Company of the *Jonah*, whoe sett saile from Swally in Aprill 1630, whoe

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[1] In *Harl. MS.* 2286 the title of these first two paragraphs is—"My arrivall at Suratt: my abyding there twoe yeares."

[2] At a Consultation held in Surat on the 10th October 1628 "Peter Munday and William Knightly" were appointed "to assist and write in the office." On the 21st December 1628, in his letter to the Company, President Wylde explained that Mundy was so employed "for want of other work." His salary at this time was £30 per annum. *English Factories*, 1624—1629, pp. 285, 310.

[3] The *Charles* sailed from England to Surat in March 1629 and returned in April 1631. In 1632 she again went to Surat, thence to Persia, and later was accidentally burnt off Swally, as narrated by Mundy in *Relation* XIX.

[4] Captain John Weddell went to India as master of the *Lion* in 1618. In 1621, 1624, 1628 and 1631 he commanded the fleets that sailed to India in those years. See *English Factories*, 1618—1633. In 1634 Weddell joined Courteen's Association. Mundy's relations with him at that period will be noted in vol. III.

went Commaunder of both shipps, It beinge the manner that when any President goes home To bee Cheife Commaunder of the whole Fleete; Mr John Skibbow[1] elected President in his roome, and my selfe Register[2], which place I held untill the arrivall of the *Greate James*[3], *William*[4] and *Blessinge*[5], Captaine Morton[6], Captaine

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[1] John Skibbow, entertained as a factor in February 1627, was "well reported of for honesty and ability." On his arrival in India, in 1628, he was made one of the Council at Surat. In April 1630 he took over the office of President until the arrival of Thomas Rastell. Skibbow was summoned home on the charge of private trading, but was detained at Surat to complete his accounts, and as Rastell found him "both temperate and discreet" he was permitted to continue on the Council. In 1631 Skibbow was sent on a mission to Bantam. He died at St Augustine's Bay, on the return voyage, in 1632. *Cal. State Papers, E.I.*, 1624—1629; *English Factories*, 1630—1633.

[2] In this capacity Mundy's duties would be to enter the consultations and copy the incoming and outgoing letters. The office of register was established at Surat in 1620. See *English Factories*, 1618—1621, pp. xlvi and 186.

[3] The *Royal* or *Great James* sailed from England in March of 1630. In 1634 the ship, which had been in the Company's service for about twenty years, was found to be past repair and was ordered to be broken up. *English Factories*, 1630—1633; *Cal. State Papers, E.I.*, 1630—1634.

[4] The *William* had been in the Company's service since 1623. She continued to make voyages to and from India until 1643 when she was replaced by a new ship of the same name. *Cal. State Papers, E.I.*, 1622—1634; *Court Minutes*, 1640—1643, p. xxiii *n.*

[5] The *Blessing* was built for the Company in 1621 and was employed for India until 1643 when she was purchased by the Fourth Joint Stock from the First General Voyage. *Cal. State Papers, E.I.*, 1617—1621; *Court Minutes*, 1640—1643, p. xxvii.

[6] Matthew Morton (or Moreton) was master of the *Unity*, *Peppercorn*, *Ruby* and *Exchange* in 1620, 1622 and 1625, and made voyages to Bantam, Manilla and Lagundy. In 1627 he commanded the fleet bound from Batavia to Surat. In 1628 he was at Aden and in 1630 he brought out the fleet from England to Surat. He subsequently sailed to Persia and Bantam, and died in Bantam Road on the 21st November 1631. It was owing to Captain Morton's report (in 1625) that "excess in drinking sack" caused the Company's servants to "untimely perish in the Indies" that the Court ordered "white wine" to be sent "in lieu thereof." Morton was also the inventor of a "conceipt for contriving the bread rooms" in the Company's ships so that "less fire might serve the turn." See *Cal. State Papers, E.I.*, 1617—1634.

Wills[1] and Captaine Greene[2], under the Commaund of Mr Thomas Rastall[3], in September 1630, whoe came out President Generall of all that wee call India, as well Bantham and Southerlie[4] as theis parts and the Northwards with Persia.

It was by him and his Councell determined That I should assist with Mr Norris[5] in Barroch[6], which held not. Then was I againe enordered to be second to Mr Wych[7]

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[1] Matthew Wills commanded the *Dolphin* in 1623 and 1624. In 1625, 1627 and 1631 he made voyages for the Company to Surat and Bantam. In 1634 he was Admiral of the fleet bound to Surat and was subsequently presented with a piece of plate "with the Company's arms graven thereon" on account of his "good services in the fight against the Portugals" on Swally Sands. In December 1640 Captain Wills was appointed "as master (the Court resolving to entertain no man under the title of captain again) of the *London*." He resigned his command a month later and died before 26th January 1642, when his widow appealed to the Court regarding his estate. See *Cal. State Papers, E.I.*, 1622—1634; *Court Minutes*, 1640—1643.

[2] Michael Greene succeeded Captain Humphrey Fitzherbert as second in command of an Anglo-Dutch fleet sent against the Portuguese on the Malabar coast in 1621. Complaints of peculation were brought against him, and he was sent home for examination and punishment in 1623. In April 1625 he petitioned for re-entertainment "declaring his poverty, imprisonment, expenses and disgrace; but the Court told him they all came to him by his own wilful misdemeanor, uncivil behaviour, and riotous and loose living in the Indies." He was apparently restored to favour in 1629 and placed in command of the *Blessing*. He died in 1631, a month after setting sail from Surat to Gombroon. See *Cal. State Papers, E.I.*, 1622—1629; *English Factories*, 1630—1633.

[3] Thomas Rastell had served the Company in India from 1616 till 1625 and had previously held the post of Chief at Surat (1622—1625). His death, on the 7th November 1631, is mentioned by Mundy in *Relation* XVI. See Roe, ed. Foster (Hak. Soc.), p. 491 *n.*

[4] "It had been decided to reduce Bantam from a Presidency to an Agency, and to place that and all other factories in the East under the care of Rastell, with headquarters at Surat." *English Factories*, 1630—1633, p. vii.

[5] This was John Norris, entertained as a writer in January 1624, and appointed second at Broach on the 10th October 1628. He was agent on the Coromandel Coast from 1631 to 1633 when he returned to Surat and came home in the *Mary* in 1634, as appears in *Relation* XIX. *Cal. State Papers, E.I.*, 1624—1629; *English Factories*, 1624—1634.

[6] Broach, where the English established a factory in 1616.

[7] Nathaniel Wyche was entertained as a factor in February 1627 and sailed to India in the *Mary*. For a further mention of him and a note on his services, see *infra*, *Relation* XVI.

in Bodera [Baroda], which also brake off. Finally it was concluded I should for Agra, there to bee second to Mr William Fremlen[1], my selfe to have the keeping of the Companies Accompts and Cash in that place and Mr John Yard[2] to goe with mee as third. Wee had a monethes tyme to fitt our selves with thinges needfull, as Armes, beddinge, Apparrell for the waie, etts. to passe soe longe a Journey, for as in Turkey, soe heere, noe manner of accommodation, but what you carry with you, only sometymes you have Saraes or Canes[3] on the waye[4].

ABSTRACT OF INSTRUCTIONS FROM PRESIDENT RASTELL AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO PETER MUNDY AND JOHN YARD, PROCEEDING TO AGRA, 10 NOVEMBER 1630[5].

At Burhānpur they are to endeavour to recover from 'Rajah Raw Rutton' [Rao Ratan Singh Hara, Rājā of Bundī] the amount due for some tapestry recently sold to him by Willoughby. The price agreed upon was 18,450 rupees, of which 1,000 were paid, while a 'screet' [*scritto*, obligation in writing] was given for the rest. That 'screet' is now in the hands of 'Cassidas' [Kāsī Dās], Vīrjī Vōrā's agent. It is uncertain whether the Rājā is at Burhānpur or still in the Deccan, 'unto which parts hee is lately

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[1] William Fremlen entered the Company's service on the 1st April 1626. He was third at Agra in 1629 and apparently became head of that factory in the following year. His subsequent services are noticed in *Relation* XVII. See *Cal. State Papers, E.I.*, 1624—1629; *English Factories*, 1624—1629.

[2] There is no record of the election of John Yard. He was sent to India in the fleet commanded by Captain Morton, in 1630, and was appointed to Agra on his arrival in Surat. A sketch of his later career will be found in *Relation* XVI.

[3] *Sarāī* or *khān*, a building for the accommodation of travellers with their pack-animals. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Khan and Serai.

[4] See *ante*, vol. I. pp. 52—53.

[5] *English Factories*, ed. Foster, 1630—1633, p. 90. The original of this document is in the *Surat Factory Outward Letter Book*, I. 69, preserved in the Bombay Record Office.

gone with the Kings (or be it Assuff Cauns) [Asaf Khān's] laskar, [*lashkar*, army].' If he has not returned and is not expected within two or three days, they should not delay, but proceed on their journey to Agra; if, however, they find him at Burhānpur, they are to enlist the assistance of 'Jadowe [Jādū], the kinsman of Gourdas [Gur Dās], and of Calliangee [Kalyānjī],' a former broker for the Company, and obtain an interview with the Rājā. To him they should present the President's letter and the 'skreet,' and solicit 'his order for the passing and makeing of a barratt [*barāt*, order for payment.]' This, if obtained, is to be left in the custody of 'Cassidas,' for whom a letter from the President is herewith delivered to them. Then they should resume their journey for Agra, where they will receive further instructions. *PS.* They should make use of the favour of 'Ghinga Ram' [Gangā Rām], one of the Rājā's chief servants, and to this end may present to him in the President's name, a case of strong waters.

Suratt Howse—The English Garden—A pretty conceited Waterworcke.

But now, before our departure, letts not forgett Suratt howse and Suratt in Generall; and first the howse where wee live. Suratt howse is of the best sort in Towne, very faire and stronglie built, the Rooffs in generall flatt and tarrassed alofte to walke on, very substantiallie done with lyme, etts., soe that noe rayne can peirce it, and belowe a faire hall, Chambers and roomes for the President and Councell etts. Marchants, with compleat warehouses, Walkes [etts.[1]] belowe[2]. Wee have also a garden which

[1] This word is added from the copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286.

[2] See Roe, ed. Foster, p. 510 *n.*, for remarks on the various buildings occupied in Surat by the English as a factory house. See also Fryer, ed. Crooke, I. 214 *n.* Mandelslo, who was entertained at the English factory in 1638 by Wm. Fremlen (then President), speaks (p. 17) of various chambers, "a great Hall...a great open Gallery...the place of our ordinary rendezvous, where we met every night." Under the head "Surrata described," Mandelslo writes (p. 23), "The Dutch and English have their houses there which they call Lodges, and are spacious and well built, consisting of many fa[i]r apartments, Lodgings, Chambers, fair Halls, Galleries and Chappels."

for its bignes is the neatest and costlyest in all the Countrey hereabouts; beinge neere 4 square, haveing 4 verie faire longe walkes round about[1], all covered over with vynes supported with tymber, very curiously contrived[2]. It hath 4 other allies which goe from the midle of the longe walkes into the midle of the Garden, where stands a Chowtree[3], or prettie roome, covered overhead to sitt and passe the tyme. Before it stands a little Tancke to wash in tyme of heats and rayne, In the midst of which is a spowte, which att pleasure is lett to Runn[4], upon which they add others (as ocasion serveth) among the rest, this First six Spowtes running outwards from the Topp of the mayne spowte, and one right upp, over which is a round plate fastned soe that the water, strikeing with violence against it, causeth it to defuse and disperse itselfe soe equally, every way, and every part of the water soe conjoyninge with the other that it perfectly resembles the halfe of a great glasse Globle[5] or a Cristall Copula[6], the edge whereof is againe by the under[7] spowtess cutt into

[1] This garden may be the one described by Mandelslo, in 1638 (p. 18), as "a fair garden without the City, whither we constantly went on Sundayes after Sermon, and sometimes also on other dayes of the week, w[h]ere our Exercise was shooting at Butts....After these divertisements we had a Collation of Fruit and Preserves, and bath'd ourselves in a Tanke or Cestern which had five foot water." Fryer (ed. Crooke, I. 214), however, says that the English formerly had a "neat" garden "in the City," but "Seva Gi's coming destroyed it." [It was in 1671 that Sivaji sacked Surat.]

[2] Compare Dellon, p. 38, "All houses of people of any fashion [at Surat] have their gardens surrounded with fine Arbours, bearing Grapes twice a year."

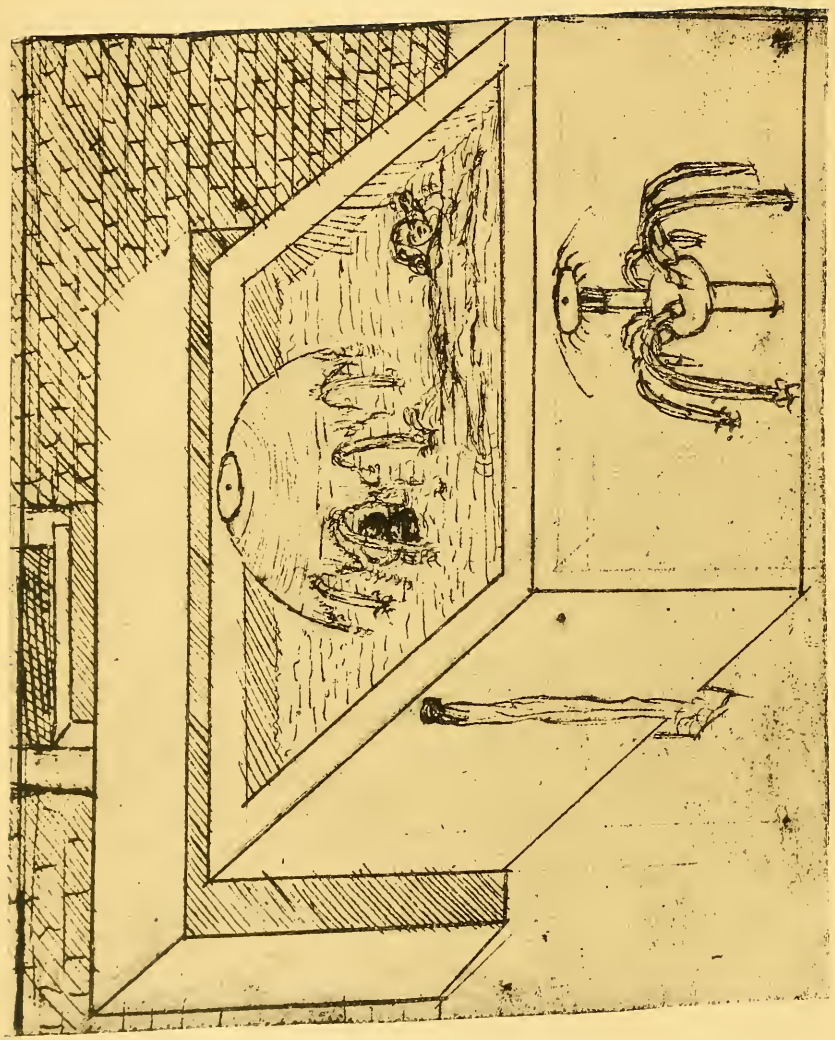
[3] *Chabūtrā*, *chautarā*, *chautrā*, *chautrī*, is a platform or raised place used for rest and conversation. It is often surrounded by a low rail and is sometimes roofed in.

[4] There is a difference here in the copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286, where the sentence runs: "Before it stands a little Tancke...which...is lett to Runn, it haveinge a pretty Invention where it issues, As first six spouts."

[5] "Globe" in the copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286.

[6] Throughout the MS., in both *Harl.* and *Rawl.* copies (with one or two exceptions), "cupola" is written "copula."

[7] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 has "outer."



No. 2. THE TANK IN THE COMPANY'S GARDEN AT SURAT, SHOWING GLOBULAR FOUNTAIN, AND, BELOW, THE METHOD OF PRODUCING IT

soe many devisions like the valens of a Cannopie. And because it is a prettie conceited [cleverly contrived] Artificiall Waterworke, I have hereunder sett the figure thereof, somewhat more or lesse[1]. The lowermost figure demonstrates the spowtes discovered. The Water that supplyeth this Tanck is drawne from a well by Oxen, which serveth also to Water the Garden most comonly every day out of the tyme of raynes. This for the major part is the manner of their Country Gardens, conteyning raritie[2] of strange trees, flowres, fruits, herbes, etts., altogether unknowne in our parts.

In the Howse aforesaid dwelleth the President and Councell etts. Merchants and under Factors, ordinarilie to the number of 10 or 12, a Preacher and Surgeon, Steward, Attendants etts. [and other] Officers, as Cookes, Bakers, etts. men of service, altogether to the number of 25 or 26 persons English.

Our Dyett heere for the most part is such as wee have in England, fine bread of wheate, Beefe, Mutton, Henns, pigeons, dressed after our owne manner by English Cookes[3]. Sometymes wee have this Countrey wilde fowle, Antelops, and perchance wilde boare; but ordinarilie wee have dopeage[4]

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[1] See Illustration No. 2.

[2] "Varietie" in *Harl. MS.* 2286.

[3] When Ovington visited Surat, in 1689, he found the table at the factory "spread with the choicest Meat Suratt affords, or the Country thereabouts....And that nothing may be wanting to please the Curiosity of every Palate at the times of Eating, an English, Portuguese, and an Indian Cook are all entertain'd to dress the Meat in different ways for the gratification of every stomach" (pp. 394, 397).

[4] This word represents *dopyāj*, the vulgar pronunciation of the Pers. *dupiyāza*, a savoury dish. From the context, "dopeage and rice" probably means curry and rice, though one would have expected the contemporary word "carriel" to have been used. In the *Āīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, 1. 60—61, we find, among "Meats with Spices," a recipe for "*Dupiyāzah*," *viz.* "10 *ser* meat, middling fat; 2 *s. g'hī*; 2 *s.* onions; ¼ *s.* salt; ⅛ *s.* fresh pepper; cuminseed, coriander seed, cardamums, cloves, 1 *drachm* of each; 2 *dr.* pepper; this will give five dishes."

and Rice, Kercheere[1], and achare[2] or pickled Manges [mangoes]. Our stronge Drinck is Racke [arrack, *'arak*], like stronge water, next a kinde of beere made of Course Sugar[3] and other ingredients, pleasant to the taste and wholesome, but many tymes water[4]. There is sometimes used a Composition of Racke, water, sugar and Juice of Lymes called Charebockhra[5].

The Factors [Factories] subordinate to Suratt[6], besides Persia[7], are Agra, Ahmudavad [Ahmadābād], Brodra [Baroda], Baroche [Broach], and sometymes Cambayett [Cambay][8]. In each place there are ordinarilie resideinge a Principall with 3 or 4 Factors, sometyme[s] more or lesse, where they live very contentedly together, being very well accommodated[9] and plentifully furnished with any thing That that rich and fruitefull Countrie affoards.

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[1] *Khichrī*. "Kichery...is the ordinary Food of the Poor and it is called Kichery because it is made of a Grain of the same name boiled with Rice, Water and Salt." Thévenot, Part III. p. 52. See also Ovington, pp. 310—311, and *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Kedgeree.

[2] *Achār*, a term used for any acid or salt relishes. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Achar.

[3] Coarse, very brown sugar made from the sap of various palms. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Jaggery.

[4] "That most antient and innocent drink of the world, Water, is the common drink of East India." Terry, p. 100.

[5] A sherbet composed of four ingredients, Hind. *chār-bakhra*, four portions, divisions. I have found no other instance of the use of the word among seventeenth century writers, nor does *chār-bakhra* in the sense of a compounded beverage appear to be in the dictionaries. "Charebockhra" appears to answer to Mandelslo's "Palepuntz [pale punch], which is a kind of drink consisting of *aquavitae*, Rose-water, juice of Citrons and Sugar" (p. 18).

[6] Surat was appointed the chief factory of the East India Company in India in March 1616. *Letters Received*, IV. 301.

[7] The Company's factories in Persia were at Gombroon (Bandar 'Abbās) and Ispahan.

[8] The business of the Company at Cambay was transacted partly through Ahmadābād, and factors were not in constant residence at the former place.

[9] In *Harl. MS.* 2286 this passage runs, "where they doe theire busines cherefully and live very contentedly togeather haveinge excellent accomodation."

Suratt its Description.

Suratt it selfe lyeth Eastward from Port Swallye, distant about 12[1] miles on the River Tapee [Tāpti], and may bee neere 2 miles in Compasse, environ'd with a badd ditch[2], excepting towards the River side. There are 7 Gates belonging to it, *vizt.* Baroche Gate[3], out of which goe many a Englishman that never returne, it being the way to our place of Buriall[4]. This Gate leadeth to Ahmudavad and soe to Agra that way; Brampore [Burhānpur] Gate leadinge to Brampore, Decan and to the English garden without the Towne; Nunsaree [Nausāri] Gate to Nunsaree etts. [and other] Sea townes to the Southward, and the way to the great Tancke[5], with others which I omitt.

Heere are some reasonable long straight streetes, as that[6] goeing to Nunsaree gate etts., some faire buildings scattered heere and there, a strong Castle[7] furnished with

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[1] *Harl. MS.* 2286 has "10 miles."

[2] The "mud wall" mentioned by Herbert. See Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 129 *n.* In 1638 Mandelslo says (p. 23) "on the land side it hath a good Rampier of stone," but Tavernier (ed. Ball, I. 7), who was at Surat later than Mandelslo, describes the walls as "only of earth."

[3] See Fryer, ed. Crooke, I. 252 and note, for the position of Broach Gate. Finch, in 1609 (Purchas, ed. Maclehose, IV. 28), and Mandelslo, in 1638 (p. 23), only speak of three gates. See also de Laët, *India Vera*, pp. 16—17.

[4] For the "stately Burying places of the Europeans" at Surat, see Ovington, p. 405; see also Thévenot, Part III. pp. 23—24.

[5] *Harl. MS.* 2286 adds here: "There is one gate more by the water beyond the Castle greene."

[6] "The Bazaar" in *Harl. MS.* 2286. See Ovington, pp. 216—217, for the streets of Surat.

[7] Compare the following seventeenth century accounts of Surat castle:

1623. "On the other side of which River [the Tāpti], something on the right hand as you go into the City [Surat], which hath no walls, stands a castle, lately built, but very ill design'd." Della Valle, ed. Grey, p. 23. [Della Valle is mistaken as to the date of the castle, which was built in the middle of the sixteenth century.]

1626. "A Castle of stone is strongly built at the South-West side, the river washing it; planted with great Ordnance and other shot;

good ordinance. By it is a very faire spacious greene, called Castle Greene[1], alsoe the Bunder [*bandar*] or wharffe, where Goods are embarqued to be transported unto shipps or Juncks rideinge att Swally or the Rivers mouth.

Junckes.

Juncks are theis Country vessels, soe called by us, of which many belong to this place, among the rest some of 1000 or 1200 Tunn each, and but one Deck. Theis put to Sea with Easterly Monsoon, and before the wynde out goe our Shipps, by reason of the monstrous breadth of their maine sayles[2], soe fitted of purpose, as being confident of the continuance of faire and moderate winds and weather duringe that Monsoon.

What a Monsoon is.

Monsoon is a tyme of the yeare when the wyndes blowe continually one way, of which there are twoe, *Vizt.* the Easterly Monsoon and the Westerly. The Easterly begins about the end of September, and continues untill the Midle of Aprill followinge, with perpetuall faire weather, except perchaunce some 2 or 3 dayes of rayne happeninge in that Tyme. The Westerly Monsoon beginneth from the midle of Aprill and continueth untill the end of September againe, in the latter 3 monethes whereof fall the raynes

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awed by a Garrison, who make dainty to admit [are chary of admitting] a stranger to see their fortifications or parapets." Herbert, p. 36.

1638. "The Castle which they say was built by the Turks, upon an invasion which they made into this Country, hath but one Gate, which looks into a spacious plain which serves for a Meidan [*maidān*, open space, park] to the City." Mandelslo, p. 23. See also Finch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, IV. 27; De Laët, *India Vera*, pp. 16—17; Thévenot, Part III. p. 15; Tavernier, ed. Ball, I. 6—7; Fryer, ed. Crooke, I. 248; Ovington, p. 215.

[1] See Ovington, p. 217.

[2] The term junk is here used to indicate a native vessel. See Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 123 *n.* Later, the word was applied to any large vessel in the Indian Seas. See Bowrey, ed. Temple (*Hak. Soc.*), p. 181 *n.*, and *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Junk.

accompanied with great Stormes and violent Currants etts.[1], soe that in this Monsoon there is noe putting to Sea, their vessells beinge either hailed [hauled] on Shoare or drawne up into secure places.

The Great Tancke.

The Great Tancke is a Fabricke of as great Coste, labour and tyme, admirable for its workemanshipp and bignes. Tancks in generall are 2 sorts, *viz.* naturall and artificiall. The first are some lower ground, whereunto the waters runne from the upper part in tyme of Rayne. Of this sort there bee many, both great and small, which wee may terme Lakes, Ponds or Pooles, according to their bignesse. The other sort are artificiall, made by hands (as this of Suratt), by takeing away the earth, makeing it to what depth they please, which is afterwards built of stone to what forme they thinck best[2]. Theis sorts are in or neere to Citties and great Townes for Common use; Also great men and others have them in their Gardens and dwellings of a lesser sort. Theis Tancks being places of much use and delight, by reason of the want of rayne most part of the yeare in theis Countries. Suratt Tanck is neere half a mile about, made into 16 squares, built of great hard hewen stone, haveing from the upper Superficies stepps descending downewards about 20 in number, which goe round about. Betwene every 5 or 6 is one much wider then the rest to walke on. It hath 8 entrances for people and Cattle, which goe downe wards; with walls, turretts and very faire pavement of great Stones. In the midle of all stands a howse. The passage where the water cometh in deserveth also notice, walled on

[1] See Fryer, ed. Crooke, I. 124, 128, on "Mossoons or Monsoons"; also Ovington on "Mussouns," pp. 131—137. For an elaborate note on "Monsoon" see *Indian Antiquary*, XXX. 393—396.

[2] For the origin of the word "tank," indicating a reservoir, well or cistern, see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Tank.

each side, vaulted and supported with pillars. In the Midle of this Entrey lyes a very prettie small Tanck, hard by the greater. This I conceive is that the troubled water might settle there before it runne into th' other, beinge that the litle one must be first filled, which is done, in tymes of Rayne, as well litle as greate; and then in the greatest may bee about 3 Fathom water att the deepest, and before the rayne Come againe very litle, or none att all, makeinge use of the bottome or floore for the soweing of muske and Water Millions [melons], which growe up verie sodainely there[1]. Round about stand many faire Tombes, gardens and trees, which make a pleasant prospect, the Tancke beinge full, whether wee resort manie tymes for recreation, and sometymes to the Toddy gardens, which in [tyme of][2] Rayne are very faire and green, yeilding forth a most fragrant smell.

Tarree trees.

Of these Tarree trees are a verie great number round about Suratt, out of which they drawe a Liquor wee call Toddy, or rather Tarree [*tārī*]. The best sort thereof may bee compaired to new white wyne, both in Coulor and Taste, pleasant and wholesome, which distilleth from severall sorts of trees[3], as the Coco tree, the date tree and another called [4], in forme all alike, differinge a

[1] All the seventeenth century travellers appear to have been much impressed by the celebrated Gopi Talāo or tank at Surat. See Roe, ed. Foster, p. 112 and note. Thévenot (Part III., p. 25) writes of this "lovely Tanque" that "it may be compared to the fairest that the Romans ever made for publick benefit." See also Finch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, iv., 28; Terry, pp. 187—188; Dellon, p. 40, and supplement, p. 27; Fryer, ed. Crooke, i., 261 and note.

[2] These words are added from the copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286.

[3] See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Toddy. For various seventeenth century accounts of the making of *tārī* (tary, terry, houry or toddy), see Della Valle, ed. Grey, p. 62; Terry, p. 92; Mandelslo, p. 23; Thévenot, Part III., p. 17; Dellon, pp. 62—63; Ovington, pp. 238—239.

[4] There is a blank here in all the copies. Mundy probably intended to add the palmyra palm or *tār* tree, which gave its name to the liquor.

litle in the spriggs or leaves on the Topp, having noe branches but the maine Stemm. The Governour hath yerely for the rent of the said Tree 12000 Ms. [*mahmūdīs*]. Above the rest the Coco tree is most wonderfull and necessarye, as in many places elsewhere is described.

[The Inhabitants.]

The Inhabitants of Suratt are Mogolls, Banians and Parsees. I may chaunce to write somewhat of each hereafter if God lycense mee[1].

Townes about Surratt.

Places adjoyninge are Raneile on the other side of the River, a pleasant Scituation[2], Also Ragem[3], Battee[4], etts. on that side. On Suratt side are Ckhaturgam [Katargām] Pulparre, where the Banians burne theire dead[5], Cankei Carro[6], a curious Sollitarie place with a litle Brooke makeing many deepe and learge pooles, fine shadye bancks and trees on the Margent, frequented with fowle, and stored with fish.

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[1] Mundy has remarks on the Banians in *Relation* VIII. and on the Parsees in *Relation* XVIII.

[2] Rānder, two miles above Surat, on the right bank of the Tāpti. In 1638 Mandelslo (pp. 22—23) describes "Reniel" as "an old ruin'd City where the Dutch have a Ware-house....The streets of it are narrow, and the houses are so raised from the Foundation, that there is not any but hath one step to get up to it." Later, Thévenot wrote (Part III., p. 23), "Renelle is an old Town about a quarter of a League distant from Surat. It stands on the other side of the Tapty, and though it daily fall into ruin, yet the Dutch have a very good Magazin there." Fryer (ed. Crooke, I. 300 and note) calls the place "Ro Neal." See also Finch's description (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, IV. 28.

[3] Identified by Mr W. Foster as Arajān, a village below Surat. See *English Factories*, 1622—1623, p. 265 *n.*

[4] Mr Foster conjectures that Bhatha, on the right bank of the Tāpti, is meant. *English Factories*, 1622—1623, p. 279 *n.* In Herbert's time "Batty" was "famous for good Toddy."

[5] Phulpārā. See Mr Crooke's note in Fryer, I. 255.

[6] Kānkrā Khārī (*khārī*, salt-water creek) immediately South of Surat. See *Map of Surat Collectorate*, 1871 (Map Dept. India Office).

The Banian Tree.

The Banian Tree is a litle beyond the Great Tanck and not to bee forgotten, being of those the Portugalls call Arbore de Rais [*raiz*, Port., 'tree of roots'], because the roots descend from alofte. This is of an exceedinge bredth, much honoured by the Banians[1].

Townes neere the Port.

Neere Porte Swally lyes Swally [Suwālī] Towne[2], Damkee [Damkin], Mora[3], etts., much frequented by English in tyme of Shippinge, whether they resort for recreation.

The burning of a Banian woman with her dead husband.

Now before I take leave of Suratt I will relate one accident that happened att my beinge there, whereof I was Eye witnesse, *vizt.* a Banian Woman that voluntarilye burned her selfe alive with the body of here dead husband. The manner of it was as followeth:

A Certaine Banian dieing att Suratt, his wife resolved to burne herselfe alive with the body of her husband, It

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[1] For early descriptions of the banyan tree (*ficus indica*) see Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*,' p. 57; Mandelslo, p. 9; *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Banyan-Tree. For detailed accounts of the particular tree described by Mundy, the celebrated *Kabīr Barh*, see Tavernier, ed. Ball, II. 198; Fryer, ed. Crooke, I. 265. In Dellon (*Supplement*, p. 27) the banyan tree at Surat is thus described: "The Sacred Tree. About a musket shot from thence [the great Tank] is to be seen that Tree, call'd by the Pagan Indians The Sacred Tree, of such a bigness, that its Branches spread two hundred and fifty Paces round. The Banians have a particular Veneration for this Tree, and adorn it with Banners; under its shadow is a Pagan Temple, resembling a Grotto, dedicated to a certain Idol, which they call The Mother of Mankind. At the Gate, there is constantly attending a Braman, who receives the Offerings, and marks the Fore-heads of such as come to pay their Devotion, with a red Stroke."

[2] Mundy has further remarks on Swally in *Relation* XVIII. See also Fryer's account, ed. Crooke, I. 210—212.

[3] For the position of these two villages, see Fryer, *op. cit.*, note on p. 213. At "Damre" Mandelslo saw (p. 23) "abundance of wild Ducks in the Rice."

No. 3. A CASE OF *SATĪ* AT SURAT IN 1630

beinge an ancient Custome used in India, but now not soe much by farr as in former tymes. The Mogull haveinge Conquered their Countrie hath almost abollished that Custome, soe that it may not bee done without speciall lycense from the kinge or Governour of the place where they dwell. This Woman through much importunitie gott leave of the Governour[1] of Suratt to effect her desire.

The Body of her husband was carried to Palparre [Phūlpārā], which lyes on the River Tapee [Tāpti][2], where are many of their Pagodes or Churches, and great resort thither att severall of their Feastivalls. There was it layd att the brinck of the river, with his feete and part of his body in the Water. His wife by him, with other weomen in the said river, stood upp to the midle performinge on themselves certaine washinge Ceremonies, for they attribute much holynesse to great Rivers (especiallie to Ganges), and much of their religion consists in Washinges. In the meane tyme there was readye made the pile or place for the funerall fire, layeinge a good quantitie of wood on the floore round about, which were stakes driven in, on which are put a great quantitie of a small kinde of drye Thornes and other Combustable stuffe, fashioned like a little lowe house with a doore of the same to it. First the dead body was brought and layed on the said pile, on whome they sett more wood and drye Oxe dunge (a great fuell in this Countrie). Then came his wife from the River accompanied with Bramanes [Brāhmans], (whoe are their Preists). Then Compassinge the Cottage three tymes, shee taketh leave of her Kindred, freinds and acquaintance very Cheirefullie, without any shewe of feare or alteration att all, and entreth into it, where sittinge

[1] Mīr Shams was Governor of Surat in 1628. See *infra*, *Relation* XVI.

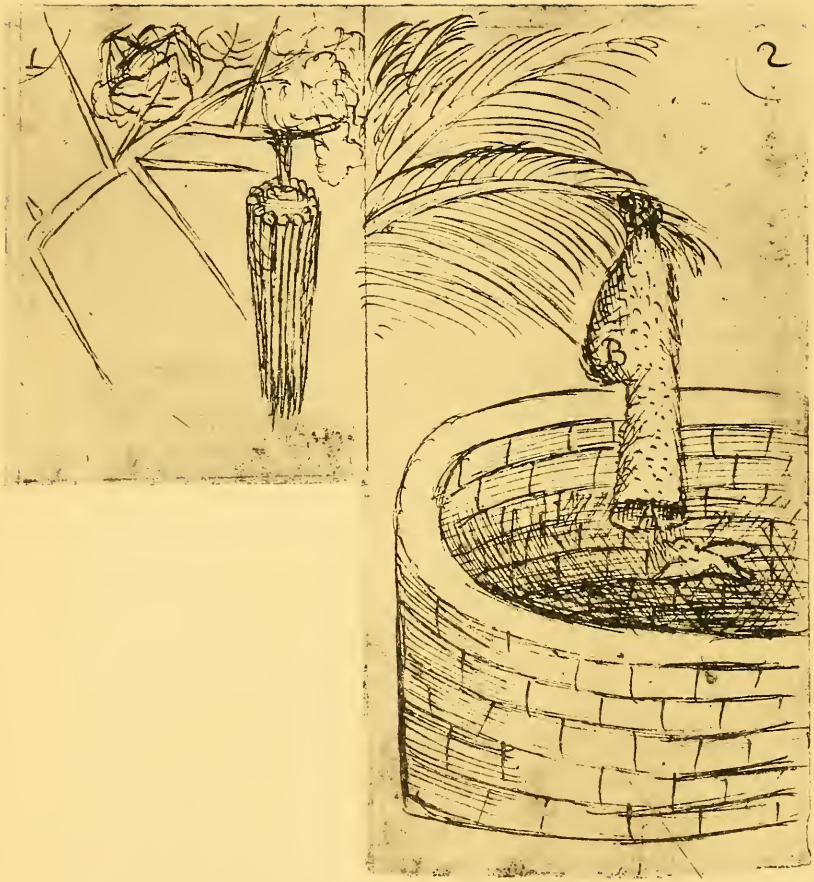
[2] Here is a marginal note—"In this river are many crocodiles of which wee have seene divers."

downe, shee taketh her husbands head on her Lapp. The doore is presentlie [immediately] shutt upon her, one of her kindred holding a greate pole against it, and others with longe poles in their hands to Right the fire if neede bee (or rather I thinck to knock her downe if shee should chance to gett out). Then shee herselfe with a litle torche she carried with her (made of Oyled Lynnen) kindleth it first within, when her freindes without with the like Torches sett it on fire round aboute, which on the suddaine burneth with greate violence, The Spectators in the meane tyme makeinge all the noyse they can, some with drumms and Countrie Instruments, beateing of brasse platters, Cryeinge or hollowinge, Clapping their hands, all in a Confused manner, while the furie of the flame lasteth. This I conceive is to drowne her voyce if shee should chance to Crye. The sides and upper part of the place was quicklye consumed; yett satt shee upp with life in her, holding upp both her Armes, which might bee occasioned through the scorchinge and shrinckinge of the Sinnewes, for shee held her handes under his head untill the fire was kindled; soe att last not able to sett upp anie Longer, shee fell downe upon her husbands body, when by their freinds they were covered with more fuell untill they were both burned to ashes, which presentlie [immediately] is throwne into the river. Hereunder I have set it downe in figure, as neere as I can[1].

A Strange Worme.

Yett a little more. By the Toddie gardens on the thorne trees there is a litle worme woven in a Case or Codd fastned to a sprigg of the said Tree, as it were by a bigg thredd, soe stronge that it is hardly to bee pulled of. The

[1] See Illustration No. 3. Compare Dellon's description of a *satī* at Surat (pp. 48—50), which closely resembles Mundy's account. In *Relation* XXXVI. Mundy describes a *satī* that he witnessed in 1655 at Rājāpur, differing in many particulars from the one he saw at Surat.



No. 4. BAGWORM AND WEAVER BIRD

outside of the case is covered round about with thorne pricks, neere of equall length, the bigg ends upwards and the poynts downewards, about one inch longe and as bigg as the topp of one litle finger as in the figure No. 1 on the other side[1]. I opened some of them and found within a Shapelesse Creature such as the Silkworme is in the Codd at the tyme of her change. And as that, even soe this questionlesse att a convenient tyme atteyneth to a perfect forme, but what sort I know not[2].

As Strange Birds nests.

Also in many places heereabouts are certen Birds Nests made of small threds of rootes or Coconutts or such like as No. 2[3]. The mouth (as att Letter A) hanges downward; att B is the place where they sitt, about a foot long in all. There are two sorts of Birds that use them that I sawe, the one like a Glady[4], th'other like a lynnett[5]. But whether the one makes use of the others Nest I know not. They are fastned to the bowes of trees, about howses and in woods, but more commonly over forsaken wells, soe that noe kinde of vermine dare adventure to come neere to hurt

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[1] See Illustration No. 4.

[2] Colonel Alcock has kindly identified this insect. He writes as follows: "The 'strange worme' is no doubt one of the many species of bagworms. Bagworms are the caterpillars of moths of the family *Psychidae*; they (the caterpillars) live in a case made of bits of stick etc., firmly knit together with remarkably tough silk. The case is usually suspended from the under surface of leaves, etc., in such a way that the caterpillar can feed by protruding its head. In India one sometimes sees a tree with hundreds of bagworms hanging from its leaves, something like the ornaments on a Christmas Tree."

[3] See Illustration No. 4.

[4] Glady or gladdy is a name given in Devon and Cornwall to the yellow-hammer.

[5] Mundy is describing the nest of the common weaver bird (*ploceus baya*), which is found all over India. He may also have seen one of the other varieties of this family, but it is more probable that he observed the bird at two different seasons and mistook it for two distinct species. After the autumn moult the common weaver bird in colouring resembles a linnet and after the spring moult a yellow-hammer. See Oates, *Fauna of Brit. I., Birds*, II. 174, 180.

their Younge, the Nest hanging in that manner, as also over the water[1]. The nature and instincte of abillitie in theis two litle Creatures is to bee wondered att, especially the worme, for how it should close itselfe within that Pallisadoe (being it is not to be thought it came in att the Lower end) and hang in that manner as it doth I leave to bee discussed[2].

The begininge of the greate Famine.

About the tyme of our departure for Agra began a Famine[3], the Secondary cawse thereof the want of rayne this last Season, and much feared will prove very greivous, poore people begininge to die for want of Sustenance. God shewe mercie on all men.

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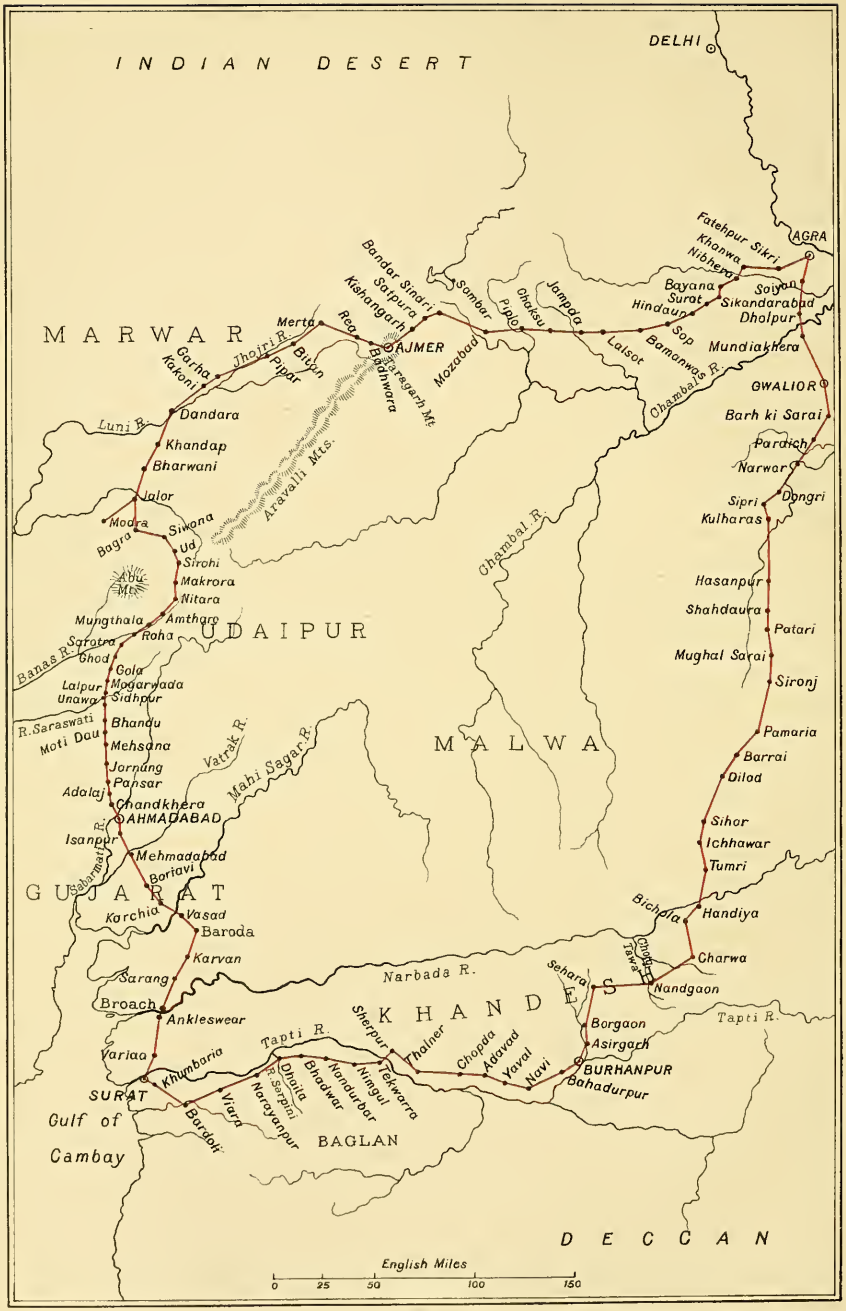
[1] In *Harl. MS.* 2286, there is no description of the weaver bird in this *Relation*, but in the account "of India in generall and of the Marreene at Swally" (*Relation* XVIII. in the *Rawl. MS.*) the following paragraph occurs: "There is a small bird like a Yellow hammer whoe makes her Neste with more Arte then I thinke any other Foule in the world, farr surpassinge the Swallowe. It is fasted to an end of a sprigg of a tree or most commonly some bushes that growe over a forsaken well. It hangeth downeward over the water, some of them ½ yarde longe, the entrance right underneath resemblinge a horne funnell, into which the bird goeth upp, and descends againe into a receptacle on the one side where lye her yong ones or eggs."

[2] Here is a marginal note—"A pretty question."

[3] Full and graphic details of the terrible famine of 1630 are given by Mundy in *Relation* VI.



Mundy's Routes between Surat and Agra 1631 and 1633.

RELATION VI.

A JOURNEY FROM SURATT IN GUZARATT [GUJARĀT] TO AGRA IN HINDOSTAN[1], WHETHER PETER MUNDY AND JOHN YARD WERE ENORDERED AND SENT BY THE WORSHIPFULL THOMAS RASTELL, PRESIDENT ETTS. COUNCELL, TO ASSIST MR WILLIAM FREMLEN THERE RESIDEINGE IN THE HONOURABLE COMPANIES AFFAIRES, AS FOLLOWETH.

The 11th November 1630. Wee departed from Suratt att eveninge, and that night came to Cumwarra [Khumbāriā] (3 course)[2], where wee mett, as wee expected, one Mirza Mahmud Saphee [Mīrzā Mahmūd Safī], a Persian, travellinge to Brampore [Burhānpur] to the Kinge, unto whome the President had recommended us for our better safetye and accomodation in soe hazardous a tyme; for there was a great famine begun, causeinge the highwayes

[1] In January 1610 William Finch journeyed from Surat to Agra *viâ* Burhānpur and wrote an account of his various stages. In October of the same year John Jourdain followed him and also chronicled his halting places. Later, in 1645, J. B. Tavernier covered the same ground and wrote a list of the towns and villages passed, with the distances between each. Jourdain's route has been dealt with by Mr Foster, together with the greater number of Finch's halting places, and Mr Foster's identifications have been freely used in tracing Mundy's route.

[2] *Kos*, a measure of distance, nowadays two miles. See Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 141 *n.*, and Mundy's own remarks at the end of this *Relation*. The distances given within brackets are found in the margin in the MS.

to be as it were unpassable for Theeves and others whoe infested it, not so much for desire of riches as for graine etts. food[1].

The 12th November 1630. From thence wee came to Barnolee (10 course)[2], an other Towne, where came to us the Governours servants of this place demaundinge 20 Rupees for Jagatte[3] or Custome of our twoe Carts, 10 Rupees each, but through Mirza's meanes wee came off with the giveing of one Mahmudee[4] to his Peones[5].

The 13th November 1630. Beara [Viārā] (12 course). This is a small Towne, yett fortefied with a good Castle[6] and accomodated with a very prettie pond or Talao[7] stored with fish and fowle; heere the Governour of Suratt put his Elephants to feede. This place is daungerous for Theeves.

The 14th November 1630. Wee came to Kirka[8] (7 course), a poore Towne, halfe burnt upp and almost voyd of Inhabitants, the most part fledd, the rest dead, lyeing in the Streets and on the Tombes. Here were more of the Governours Camells feedinge, of a sort called Bagda[9], somewhat differinge from the other ordinarie sort, being thicker and stronger made, with short leggs and

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[1] For various accounts of and allusions to the famine of 1630, other than that given by Mundy, see *Appendix* A.

[2] Bardolī, 19 miles from Surat. Jourdain and Finch took the road passing through Mota and Karod, but Tavernier followed Mundy and went to "Barnoly," which he describes as "a large town where you cross a river by a ford." Tavernier, ed. Ball, I. 48.

[3] *Jagāt*, custom, toll, duty on goods.

[4] *Mahmūdī*, a coin worth nearly an English shilling.

[5] Port. *peão*, foot-soldier, messenger. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Peon.

[6] Roe (ed. Foster, p. 87) calls the place Biarat and also mentions its "walled castle."

[7] *Talão*, *talāb*, a pond, tank or reservoir.

[8] See Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 142 *n.* De Laët, *India Vera* (tr. Lethbridge), p. 30, speaks of "the large village of Curca which lies on the North side of the river."

[9] The two-humped Baghdādī camel.

verie hairie before. Heere were the bancks of a faire River, but the water neere dryed upp.

The 15th November 1630. By the waie hither (Nouapora [Nārāyanpur], 13 course), wee made accompte to have mett with Rashpootes[1] whoe are here rife, but wee mist them, although betwene this place and Kirka (wee goeinge somewhat of the foremost, and our Company upon some occasion or other unknowne to us stayinge behinde) wee found our selves alone by the side of a litle brooke beinge neere the high way, there past by 11 or 12 of them on horseback, all well armed and provided with gunns, swordes, launces, bowes and arrowes, where espieinge us alone, made a stand, but seeinge wee were not those theie looked for, left us, goeing on their way, giveinge out they came to meete and Conduct Mirza. But after our Companie came upp, wee understood they were Rovers and watched for the Caphila [*kāfila*, caravan], whoe by reason of the hilly stonie way was gon somewhat the farther about in the vallye and soe mett them not. Howsoever it was sett upon by a great Company of footemen, whoe att length were faine to betake themselves to flight. Hard by us lay the Skulls and bones of sundrie men, said to bee killed by these fellowes.

The 16th November 1630. In the morninge wee departed from thence, and that eveninge wee came to Dayta [Dhāitā], (10 Course), where wee pitched neere the Towne in a Grove of Trees hard by the River side [the Sarpinī]. The Governour of this place demaunded Jagatt of every Cart layden with goods, which Mirza for his part denyed, and bidd them take it of the Banian merchants[2], for that wee were his people and our goods as his goods. This

[1] Rājpūt thieves. Here is a marginal note—"In daunger of robbers."

[2] *Banyā*, *baniyā*, trader, but used by the early travellers for Hindu. The point is that the Muhammadan Mīrzā was making the Hindus pay the duty.

nighte hee came the round according to his wonted Custome, which wee perceiveinge, went forth to meete him, and entreated him to rest a litle in our Tent, which hee then excused, but a while after came without light with another Mogull or Persian, and 2 servants, and remained with us neere 2 howres, when hee related unto us the cawse of his Journey, which was that hee had a brother, named Dianett Ckaun[1], lately dead in the Kinges Service[2], and that the Kinge had sent for him to bestow on him his said brothers estate and other advancement as hee should thinck fittinge. Hee told us alsoe how kindley hee was used by Captaine Weddell [in] former yeares in his passage from Surratt to Gombrone[3] and by all the rest of the English, which obliged him to love them; and soe with many Curteous proffers hee departed for that tyme.

Children sold or given away.

In this place the men and weomen were driven to that extremitie for want of food that they sold their Children for 12*d.*, 6*d.* and [4] pence a peece; yea, and to give them away to any that would take them, with manye thancks, that soe they might preserve them alive, although they were sure never to see them againe.

The 17th November 1630. Wee came to Baadoore[5] (10 course), where wee heard there were 150 or 200 horsemen that awaited the Comeinge of this Caphila, haveing

[1] Ckaun = *khān* with a nasal *n*. Mundy and other writers of the 17th century used initial *ck* and *ckh* to represent the Persian and Arabic guttural, corresponding to the *ch*, in such Scotch words as *loch*, which is more guttural than the German *ch* in *ich*, etc.

[2] Diyānat Khān, a title of Muhammad Husain, *amīr* of 2000, who served under Shāh Jahān and died at Ahmadnagar in 1630.

[3] Captain John Weddell made voyages from Surat to Persia in 1621 and 1625. He was at Gombroon (Bandar 'Abbās) in February 1622 and in November 1625.

[4] There is a blank here in both MSS.

[5] Bhadwār. See Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 143 *n*. De Laët, tr. Lethbridge, has—"Badur a foul city and a nest of thieves."

but a litle since robbed a whole Towne, wherefore that night wee kept an extraordinarie watch, both our selves and Peones, as did Mirza and his people, whoe all night walked to and againe to see it duely observed.

The manner of watching in a Caphila.

The manner of watchinge in Caphilaes is by the Continuall beateinge of a great Kettle Drumme (which most comonly they carry with them), and once in a quarter or halfe an hower one or other cryes, Covardare [*khabardār*], when all the rest of the people answer with a showte, Covardare, which is as much to say as take heede[1]. And this they do all night.

The 18th November 1630. From Baadoore wee came to Netherbarre [Nandurbār], (12 course), a greate place[2], where wee were much troubled to finde a roome convenient for our litle Tent, by reason of the number of dead bodyes that lay scattered in and about the Towne[3]. Att last wee tooke up our lodginge amonge the Tombes[4]. This place Mirza chose for us, whoe alsoe invited us to dine to daye.

The 19th November 1630. Heere wee stayed all day, where Mirza supplied himselfe with some needfull provision for his Companye, there being to be had heere, although att unreasonable rates. All this day our noses were infested and our bodyes almost infected with a most noysome smell, which after search, wee found to come

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[1] Compare Bernier's account of night watchmen in the royal camp: "To prevent robberies every Omrah provides watchmen, who continually perambulate his particular quarters during the night, crying out Kaber-dar! or Have a care! and there are guards posted round the whole army at every five hundred paces, who kindle fires and also cry out Kaberdar!" Bernier, ed. Constable, p. 369. Thévenot, Part III., p. 19, has a similar account of night watchmen in the streets of Surat.

[2] Nandurbār is one of the oldest towns in Khāndesh.

[3] Here is a marginal note, "A place pestred with dead."

[4] "Nonderbar a Citie, short of which are many Tombes and houses of pleasure." Finch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, IV. 30.

from a great pitt, wherein were throwne 30 or 40 persons, men, weomen and children, old and younge confusedly tumbled in together without order or Coveringe, a miserable and most undecent spectacle[1]. Noe lesse lamentable was it to see the poore people scrapeinge on the dunghills for food, yea in the very excrements of beasts, as horses, oxen, etts. belonginge to Travellers, for graine that perchaunce might come undisgested from them, and that with great greedienesse and strife among themselves, generallie lookeinge like annatomies[2], with life, but scarse strength enough to remove themselves from under mens feete, many of them expireinge, others newe dead. This was their estate in every Streete and Corner; And from Suratt to this place (in a manner) all the high way was strowed with dead people, Our noses never free of the Stinck of them, especially about Townes; for they dragg them out by the heeles starke naked, of all ages and sexes, till they are out of the gates, and there they are lefte, soe that the way is halfe barred upp. Thus it was for the most part hitherto[3].

Much of this place [Nandurbār] is seated on a Rock, walled, with a Castle[4], without beinge a prettie Messitt[5] on a litle hill, and Tancks[6], but for the most part drye as att this tyme. The Comon sort of howses, as well of this Towne as others hitherto, are litle and lowe with mudd walls. The better sort built of Stone (theis but fiew) with Gallaries on the outside like the Balconies in Spaine, with Chowtrees, which are open roomes, where they sitt and

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[1] Here is a marginal note—"a most inhuman spectacle."

[2] Anatomy, a skeleton with the skin left. The *O.E.D.* has quotations in this sense from 1586 to 1861.

[3] Here is a marginal note—"The miserable effects of the famine."

[4] See Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 143 and note. The old fort at Nandurbār still exists.

[5] *Masjid*, mosque. Probably the one built by Akbar in 1583 is intended.

[6] Several of these old ponds are still to be seen.

dispatch their businesse[1]. Heere is alsoe a very faire Sarae [*sarāī*][2].

The 20th November 1630. Untill wee came neere to this Townes end (Limbgoore[3], 15 course), wee past it reasonablie quiett all daie, and arriveinge heere in Twilight, there were 3 carts Cutt of from the Caphila by theeves in the reare, and carried cleane away, the people escapeinge but not without wounds. This happeninge in the night could not bee remedied. Besides, the Caphila consisted of such a multitude of Carts and people, which drewe to such a length, that hetherto wee could never see both ends from one place, and yett increasinge daylye. For you shall understand that, att our comeinge out of Suratt, Mirza and all his people, our selves and all the Strangers that came with us from thence were not in all 150 persons and about 15 or 20 Carts with some Cammells. And now I thinck there were noe lesse then 17 or 1800 people and 250 or 300 Carts, besides Oxen and Buffaloes of burthen[4]. For the Countrie [people], hearinge of our Comeinge this waye, resolved, for their better securitie to take hold of this oppertunitie to save their lives by avoydinge the famine and repaireinge to places of better releife. Soe that as wee passed their Townes, they dayly joyned to us by multitudes, and likely soe to continue

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[1] Here is a marginal note, "A Chowtree what it is." See *ante*, *Relation* v., p. 26 *n.*

[2] "There are no common Inns in all the Kingdom of Guzuratta, nor indeed of all the Mogul's Countrey; but instead thereof, in Cities, as also in some Villages, there are certain publick Buildings, called Sarai, built by some persons out of Charity, for the convenience of Strangers and Travellers, who, were it not for these, would be forced to lie in the open Aire. These are the Caravanseras which have onely the four walls, and a covering over head; so that to be accommodated therein, a Man must bring along with him what is not to be had there." Mandelslo, p. 82.

[3] Nimgul. See Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 143 *n.* De Laët, tr. Lethbridge, p. 32, remarks of this place, "Lingul...the inhabitants are infamous for their habits of thieving."

[4] Here is a marginal note, "The Caphila mightilye increased."

untill our arrivall att Brampoore [Burhānpur]. Heere wee also stood on our Guard, fearinge to bee sett upon either by Theeves or famished people.

The 21th November 1630. Wee past some trouble this day before wee came hither[1] (Tankwarro[2], 8 course), for first wee were molested by some that demaunded Custome in Mirza Backurs name[3], but takeing two of them and beating them on the soles of their feete (the ordinarie punishment in Turkie), they confessed they belonged to a Banian, and soe, beinge well beaten, they were lett goe. After that wee passed by a Towne verye quietlye till the latter part of the Caphila came upp, which, beinge of the poorer sort, they forced some thing from them before wee could come to their rescue. After that wee descried afarr of 5 or 6 horsemen and 20 or 30 foote on a litle Hill neere which wee should passe, soe wee made a stand till all the Caphila was come upp. Then the horsemen made towards us; But, on Commaund, there came but one of them, whoe told us that they were come on purpose to meete Mirza (which wee beleive they did, although with a badd intent). Theis also wee past. Comeing neere the Towne, wee lost two Carts out of the Caphila, and halfe the night was spent in passing the River [the Tāpti] and getting all the Carts upp the hill att [the][4] Townes end.

The 23th November 1630. From Tanckwarro wee came to Talnear[5] (10 course), haveinge stayed all yesterday to

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[1] Here is a marginal note—"A troublesome day."

[2] Tekwārā. Jourdain and Finch halted at Sindkherā. See Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 144 *n.*

[3] The personage here mentioned is Mīrzā Muhammad Bākir, afterwards 'Azam Khān and Irādat Khān, and is not the same man as the Bākir Khān of *Relations* XII. XVI. and XVII. (*q.v.*). Mīrzā Muhammad Bākir was brother of the famous Asaf Khān (Ja'far Beg). He was in turn Governor of Bengal, Allahābād, Gujarāt and Jaunpur. He died in 1649.

[4] This word is added from the copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286.

[5] Thālner, the first capital of the Fārukī kings. See Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 144 *n.*

regaine strength to our Oxen in Tanckwarro aforesaid, where wee kept an extraordinary watch, by reason wee had notice of 150 horsemen, whoe would be with us that night or waylay us in the morning[1]; but wee saw them not that night, only to day some fewe horse and foote skulkinge among the bushes in our waie. Wee passed through a Towne called Firpoore [? Shērpur], about which all the high waies were soe full of dead bodyes, that wee could hardly passe from them without treadinge on or goeinge over some, and from thence to Talnear all the way strewed with them. Hard by this Towne was a litle Garden watered with a well, which was the only place that gave the Eye content in rydeinge neere 200 myles.

The Governour heere informed Mirza that the way betwene this and Chopra was verie dangerous[2], and therefore wished him to stay heere one daie more and to hire more strength, but Mirza replyed that the Kinge had sent for him, unto whome hee carried a present, and that if any damage should happen unto him within his Comaund, it should be required att his hands (It beinge the Custome in theis parts).

The 25th November Anno 1630. Haveinge remained one day moare att Talnear wee departed thence in the morninge. The Governour of the place with a good Company of horse and foote accompanied us about 3 miles out of Towne and then returned, leaveing 2 of his cheife men to conduct us further; and after a while, they also departed, Mirza haveinge given them an ename[3], unto which wee did contribute two rupees. Comeinge neere Chopra [Chopdā] (16 course), wee sawe a great flock of Sheepe and Goates, which to us all was as comfortable as

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[1] Here is a marginal note, "Newes of theeves."

[2] A similar warning was given to Roe in the neighbourhood of "Chopra" in 1615. Roe, ed. Foster, p. 88.

[3] *Inām*, a gift, gratuity or *bakhshīsh*.

strange. The Governour of this place came out also to meete Mirza, expresseing great kindenesse, feastinge him in his Castle[1]. The Bazaree or Markett was prettie well furnished with provision both for horse and man, which was a great ease to our mindes[2]. Neverthelesse the people lay dead upp and downe the streets.

The 26th November 1630. The Governour of Chopra, with a good number of Horse and foote, brought us out of Towne, About the midwaie, while wee were steyinge till the Carts all came upp, there was word brought us of a loose Elephant neere about[3] the River, which, haveinge chased, wee tooke, and beinge knowne by the Governour, it was sent back to Chopra. Otherwise Mirza would have brought it alonge with him. From hence the said Governour returned, and wee kept on our waie to the Towne (Rawood [Adāvad], 10 course)[4], where the people were neere all dead and fledd, soe that there was litle to bee hadd. Only the Governour affoarded Mirza some provision for his money, which was all the Courtesie hee received there.

The 27th November 1630. Wee proceeded to Beawly [Yāval or Byāval], (11 course), a bigg Towne with a great although ruynated Castle[5]. This was the first place about which wee saw any fruitefullnesse, heere beinge feilds of Paan [*pān*] or Beetle [*betel*], Sugar Canes and Beares[6], a fruite as bigg as a Damson, which being ripe, is yellowish and in Tast pleasant, somewhat like unto Apples.

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[1] Remains of this fort still exist.

[2] Chopdā was a famous mart in the seventeenth century.

[3] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 has "above in."

[4] Jourdain gives the distance between Chopdā and Adāvad as six *kos* and between Adāvad and Byāval as ten.

[5] The castle appears to have fallen into ruins subsequent to the visits of Finch and Jourdain. The former describes it as "a faire castle."

[6] The *bēr* or *zizyphus jujuba*. Among the "sweet fruits" of Hindustan, enumerated in the *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, 1. 66, we find—"*ber*, per *ser*, 2 *dāms*."

The 28th November 1630. From thence wee came to Navee [Nāvī], (8 course). By the way was discovered one of our Caphila, whoe would gett a Course before, and there stand as though hee were sett there for a watchman, makeinge manye of the poore people pay Jaggatt for their Carts, but beinge found out, hee was soundly chawbacked[1], the mony taken from him, and made to runne fast pinioned that daie. Heere in the midle of the Bazaree lay people new dead and others breathing their last with the food almost att their mouthes, yett dyed for want of it, they not haveinge wherewith to buy, nor the others so much pittie to spare them any without money (there being no course taken in this Country to remedie this great evill, the rich and stronge engrossinge and takeinge perforce all to themselves)[2]. Heere wee kept a very strickt watch. Mr Yardes peece broke into many peeces and hurt 2 men, but not much. This Gunne was taken from the Portugalls in the Skirmish betwene the English and them on Swally sands, where were of them 28 taken prisoners and many slaine, performed in the last moneth[3]; myselfe then att Suratt.

The 29th November 1630. From Navee wee came to Baderpore [Bahādurpur][4], (12 course), a learge Towne with a faire streete or twoe and a plentifull Bazare. Heere Mr Yard shott an arrowe att a Dogg that had stolen and eaten in the night some butter, etts. from us and hitt him betwene both shoulders. The Dogg presently [immediately] strove to scramble away with his two fore feete, not being able to move his hinder parts, which may seeme strange. The reason may bee, hee was struck in the very marrowe and pith of the back bone, by which from the braine all

[1] Flogged with a *chābuk* or whip.

[2] Here is a marginal note—"A pittifull destruction by famine."

[3] For contemporary accounts of this engagement, which took place on the 17th October 1630, see *Appendix* B.

[4] See Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 144 *n.*

sense and motion is derived to the whole body. Soe that, that beinge hurt, it should seeme they were Cutt of and stopped from the lower parts, which was the cawse of the aforesaid defailement.

The 30th November 1630. Wee came to the Cittie of Brampore (3 course)[1], where wee stayed five dayes, through the backwardnes of our Broker Jaddoo [Jādū] in not provideing us Cammells according as wee advised him two dayes afore hand. Soe that it was the 6th of December before wee could gett forth of Towne.

Brampore—The Kings Howse—The Castle—The River.

Heere wee could noate noe greate matters in our short stay, as also being busied for our further proceede, onlie the kings howse which is within, and a fine Castle[2] standinge on a hill towards the rivers side (itt is that that runneth by Suratt [the Tāpti]), from whence hee hath a faire prospect as well of the said river, as of the Countrie Eastward and on the Strand. On the other side are often presented before him severall pastimes, As fighteing of Elephants, wilde Bufaloes, Antelops, coursinge of Hares, runninge of horses etts.

The Bazare or markett place which joynes to the Castle is very faire and spacious, and now, by reason of the Kinges beinge heere, plentifully stored with all provisions, beinge supplied with all thinges from all parts, farr and neere, which otherwise, it may bee beleived, would feele the same Calamitie with her Neighbour Townes, for theire is litle or

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[1] According to Mundy's reckoning, the distance between Surat and Burhānpur was 170 *kos*, and he took 17 days to accomplish the journey and had three halts of a day each; Finch did the journey in 16 days with two halts of two days each, and he makes the distance 152 *kos*; Jourdain took 19 days to reach Burhānpur with one halt of four days, and his estimate is 166 *kos*; Tieffenthaler (I. 366) states that from Surat to Burhānpur is 15 days' journey or 150 "Cosses."

[2] The Lāl Kilā. See Thévenot's description of "Brampour," Part III., p. 71; and Tieffenthaler, I. 365—366.

nothinge growes neere it for many miles. It being in Compasse about 7 course, invironed with a poore mudd wall, graced with some great mens Tombes and Messits[1]; the buildings heere as in former places discribed[2]. In the River is an Eliphant cutt in Stone and coulered in such a posture that it seemes to the life a farr off[3].

The 6th December 1630. Haveinge taken our leave of Mirza Mahmud Saphee, rendringe him many thancks for our kinde usage by the way, wee left him at Brampore and departed. That eveninge wee came to Pansure[4] (4 course), a poore Towne. Neere it is a verie high mountaine or rock[5], whereon stands a Castle called Haseere[6], about halfe a mile in Compasse on the Topp, which is plaine, this beinge in former tymes the Cheife seate of the Kings of this province, Called Candesse [Khāndesh], next adjoyne-

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[1] The tombs of Prince 'Adil Khān Fārukī (1457—1503) and of some of his successors, and the Jamā Masjid built in the reign of Alī Khān Fārukī (1576—1596).

[2] Mundy apparently refers to accounts by earlier travellers, *e.g.* Finch, &c.

[3] Finch, De Laët, Herbert, and Thévenot also remarked on this stone elephant—"By the Castles side in the River lyeth an Elephant of stone, so lively, that a living Elephant comming one day to drinke, ranne against it with all his force, and brake both his teeth. The head is painted red in the forehead; and many simple Indians worship it." Finch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, IV. 32.

"In the river is a rock in the form of an elephant's head; the resemblance is so striking that it frequently deceives even the elephants themselves as they go to bathe." De Laët, tr. Lethbridge, p. 33.

"Brampore...in the river, an artificiall Elephant so skilfully shaped, that by the Bannyans 'tis adored, and by others admired." Herbert, p. 70.

"In the middle of the River...there is a Figure of an Elephant done to the natural bigness, it is of a reddish shining Stone, the back parts of it are in the Water, and it leans to the left side; the Elephant (which the statue represents) died in that place fighting before the Cha-Gehan [Shāh Jahān]...who would needs erect a Monument to the Beast because he loved it, and the Gentiles besmear it with Colours, as they do their Pagods." Thévenot, Part III, p. 72.

[4] Apparently an error for Haseere (Asīr), though the distance given is too little.

[5] A hill of the Sātpura range.

[6] Asīr or Asīrgarh. See Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 146 *n.*

inge to Guzaratt [Gujarāt]. The Mogull [Akbar], about 34 [30] yeres since, took the kinge thereof Prisoner (by treacherie as some say)[1], whoe yett lives and receives from this kinge Shaw Jehan [Shāh Jahān] a pension of rupees 50 per daie for his maintenance, The kinge reservinge this place, by reason of its strength (it beinge accompted amongst the Cheifest in India), for the keepeing part of his treasure under the trust of an Amrawe [*umarā*, plu., for *amīr*, noble].

The 7th December 1630. Now in our Journieinge (Burghkheesara [Barh kī Sarāī, for Borgāon], 4 course), wee began to bee freed from the sadd Spectacle of dead men, but their places were supplyed by innumerable Carkases of dead beasts, as Elephants, Cammells, horses, Buffaloes, Oxen, etts. but the greatest number were of Cammells.

The 8th December 1630. Wee came to Naysara [Nau Sarāī, the New Sarāī, for Sehārā][2], (6 course), meeteinge by the waie manie and great Elephants goeinge to and comeinge from Brampore, the former beinge fedd and fitted to the kinges use, and the latter sent away to that end. Of theis hee hath a great number, the report variable, some say 10000, others more, some lesse. The highest hardly attaine to $4\frac{1}{2}$ yards[3]. Theis are kept in severall places of his dominion, which serve him for state, for the warrs and for Carriage of Tents etts. Also every Amraw or Lord hath, according to his degree, some 10, some 8, and some 5 or 6 of Horses of severall kindes, As Persian,

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[1] See the account of the taking of the castle of "Syra" (Asīr) in Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*, p. 518; see also Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 146 *n.* where Finch's version is quoted. For a modern account of the siege and the history of the Fārukī kings, see *The Nīmār Dist. Gaz.*, pp. 19—31, 202—203.

[2] From Asīrgarh to Dilod, Mundy's route is difficult to trace, as he does not follow the road taken by Finch and Jourdain. Most of his halting-places have, however, been identified. Mundy's "Naysara" still bore that name in Rennell's time. See *Atlas of Bengal.*

[3] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 has "4 yeards."

Arabian, Keeches[1], etts. Hee is sayd to have in his owne stables about 12000 or 14000.

The 9th December 1630. By the way hither (Cheanpore[2], 9 course), wee conceive it had rayned, for there was appearance of grasse, but burnt upp againe with the Sunne. All the waie from Suratt gates (or as I may say from the English Garden there), wee seldome sawe any grasse or greene thinge till wee came hither. There came now in our Companie many Eliphants. One amounge the rest, beinge feirce and dangerous, went with greate Chaines to his leggs, as also men with long staves and fireworks att their ends to hinder him from doeinge hurte[3]. With theis fireworks they also part them when they fight, which is one of the kinges pastimes, most comonly twice in the weeke[4]. Att this Towne there seemes to have bene a faire goodly River, now dryed upp, only some standing pooles in the Channell.

The 10th December 1630. (Charwa[5], 10 course). The Countrie now began to shew it selfe with a litle better countenance then hetherto. The small Townes and villages as wee passed were stored with graine in the streets or Bazares, And all the way as wee went wee mett with many thousands of Oxen laiden with Corne goeing for Brampore.

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[1] *Kachhī*, the hollow-backed horse of Kachh (Cutch) which had, in Mundy's time, the reputation of being equal to the Arabian horse. See *Āīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, I. 133.

[2] This place appears as Cheinpoor in Malcolm's map in his *Central India*, dated 1824. It may be represented by Nandgāon, on the Chhotā Tāwā, in lat. 21° 45′, long. 76° 45′. See *Indian Atlas*, sheet 54.

[3] This sentence has been corrected from the *Harl.* copy. The *Rawl. MS.* has "att their ends from hindring them from doeinge hurte." Here is a marginal note, "Fierce elephants, the manner of their conductinge."

[4] Bernier, ed. Constable, p. 277, describes the fighting of elephants and their separation by *charkhī* or Catherine wheels. Mundy has a further allusion to elephant-fighting in *Relation* VIII.

[5] Charwā, a village in the Hardā *tahsīl*, 5 miles S.E. of the Khirkiān Railway station, lying on the old high road from Delhi to Burhānpur.

The 11th December 1630. (Bechoula [Bicholā], 11 course). To day through a levell Countrie, yett full of woodes. Wee had some rayne, as also yesterday, a thing unusuall att this time of the yeare.

The 12th December 1630. Wee came to Standeene[1] (4 course), and by the way wee saw some feilds of Corne, which seemed to us noe lesse pleasant then Comfortable. Neere this Towne wee past by Handeea [Hāndiyā], a faire Castle, built of stone[2], on the banckes of the river Nerbadare [Narbadā], which runneth by Barroache [Broach] into the Sea, beinge plentifull in fowle and fish. The Raya [Rājā] of the place made us pay rupees 3 for our 3 cammells ladeinge, although it were noe other then beddinge, apparrell, provision, etts., and the Cammells ½ rupee per Cammell and 2 pice a man. Standeen is on the other side of the river.

The 13th December 1630. By reason of some heat which the Cammells cannot well endure, wee came to this place (Tombree [Tumrī], 9 course), in the night, and that through Solitarie woods. It is a poore Towne.

The 14th December 1630. Wee came to Eechahoore [Ichhāwar], (14 course), the way mountainous and woodie. About the midd way were watchmen, but wee payed nothinge. This day wee mett with many Bannjares[3], which are great drovers of Oxen and Buffaloes laiden with graine etts. provisions for Brampore; about the Towne a Champian [champaign, flat, open] Countrie with some greene feilds of Corne.

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[1] I have not succeeded in identifying this place, nor in finding any village in the position indicated by Mundy.

[2] "We came in six days [from Burhānpur] to a river called the Narbadā, where there was a town called Andia; there was also on the bank of the above-named river a little fort situated at the crossing-place." Manucci, ed. Irvine, I. 67.

[3] Banjārā, the carrier or drover caste, found all over Khāndesh, and noticed by all European travellers of the last three centuries.

The 15th December 1630. In our waie hither (Seehoore [Sīhor], 7 course), were 50 or 60 of the Kings Elephants feedinge, the Countrie Champian and some feilds of graine and Sugar Caines, also a great Tanck with aboundaunce of Fowle, 3 miles short of the Towne.

The 16th December 1630. Hitherto a good Countrie, adorned with many fruitfull feilds of graine, Sugar Canes etts., and neere the Towne (6 course)[1] another great Tanck as well furnished with fowles as the former, whereof wee killed some.

The 17th December 1630. Allmost all the way to this place (Delawood [Dilod], 7 course), wee mett Baniares[2] of Corne, manie feilds thereof on either hand, and passing through the woodes, wee saw many peacocks and peahenns with their Younge wilde.

The 18th December 1630. This daie also wee mett many Baniares, or Caphilaes of Graine, Butter, etts. provisions goeing to the Campe att Brampore, where the kinge lyes to prosecute his warrs against Decan. But neere this Towne (Barowe [Barrai], 7 course) that object ended, they comeing then out of our waye. However, that want was supplyed with a prospect as good, namelie all the Countrie covered with corne feilds greene, as of Cotten alsoe, and Gardeins aboundinge with fruites and hearbes, and within the Towne a most plentifull Bazare[3]. Our case att this tyme was farr different from that formerlie, when as nothing was presented to our viewe but dead Carkases of men and beasts, the woefull effects of famine and mortallity.

The 19th December 1630. Wee came to Pomareea [Pamāriā], (9 course), all the Countrie noe other then one entire plott of greene Corne.

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[1] The unnamed town may be the modern Durāhā.

[2] Here, and in the following paragraph, Mundy confuses the carriers with the goods carried by them.

[3] See Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 151.

The 20th December 1630. This Cittie (Serunge [Sironj], 10 course) is encompassed with many faire villages and much fruitfull ground. By it was a goodly Tanck stored with fowle, although att present almost drie. In this place are made greate quantities of Excellent Pintadoes or Chints, much nominated and esteemed throughout India, and next in goodnes to those of Muselipatan[1]. Heere wee had also very good redd roses and white[2], but the latter excelled in smell. Wee made a Moccam[3] or dayes staye to refresh our selves and Cammells.

The 22th December 1630. By the way, sittinge on the Topp of a litle Hill, wee sawe a Baniare[4] and many thousand of Oxen laiden with provision. It was att least 1½ miles in length, and as many more returninge emptie to bee reladen, and all the face of the earth, as farr and distant as wee could descerne, covered with greene Corne. But of all this aboundance poore Guzeratt was never the neere, where there was most neede, it beinge all sent to Brampore to supplie the kings Laskarrie [*lashkar*] (or Armie) lyeing there against Decan as aforementioned. This place (Mogolca Sara [Mughal Sarāī], 6 course) is in the Province of Malwa.

The 23th December 1630. Wee came to Sendhore [Shāhdaurā], (9 course), the Countrey continueinge fruitefull and pleasant, with many faire great trees of Manges [mangoes] and Tamarinde. Wee past by Puttatalaw[5], a

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[1] "White muslin of the kind called *mahmūdī* is here [Sironj] manufactured." *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Jarrett, II. 202. See also Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 151; and *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Pintado. Mundy has a marginal note, "Serunge noted for the best Pintadoes or painted linen."

[2] De Laët (tr. Lethbridge, p. 38) says that "Syrange" was "surrounded by delightful gardens."

[3] *Makām*, a halt.

[4] Here again Mundy uses "Baniare" (*banjārā*) in the general sense of caravan, including drivers, beasts of burden and baggage.

[5] Patthar-talāo, the stone tank, now apparently represented by Patārī. On the same spot Malcolm (in 1824) marks Kachhar Sarāī

Towne by which is a great Lake or Tancke, where they saye the kinge, in his passage from Agra to Brampore etts. those parts, doth usuallie pitch his Tent to take his pleasure of fowlinge and fishinge, there beinge great store of both in the said Tancke and the Marish grounds adjoyninge.

The 24th December 1630. Heere (Abdul Hasenca Sara [Abdu'l-Hasan kā Sarā, for Hasanpur], 8 course) is a very faire foresquaire, strongly built and well contrived Sara of Brick (haveing seene none such hitherto), by which runneth a River [the Asā][1], where wee stayed a litle while to please our selves with the prospect of the Sara and River aforesaid, as also of the Countrie round about, in which wee could hardly see one spott of untilled ground, the fishes playeing and leapeinge in the Clear water the meane tyme. It is generallie observed that this Province of Malwa never failed of aboundance[2], and from hence are supplied many other provinces of India in tyme of scarcitie.

The 25th December 1630, *and Christmas day.* Comeing to this place (Collaroze [Kulhāras], 9 course)[3], wee passed through the same Countrie of Corne, although not altogether soe well replenished with tillage, yett still meeteinge with Baniares laden therewith.

Newes from Agra—Our Christmas faire—Unmannerly doggs.

This day came to us a Peon, whoe brought us a letter from our loveinge freinds Mr William Fremlin and

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(*Central India*, map); and in a map of Eastern Rajputana of 1871 (*Archaeol. Survey*, vol. II.) we have Kuchnal Sarāī. It is quite possible that this is the halting-place intended by Mundy.

[1] Here is a marginal note, "A dainty River."

[2] "The province of Malway, or Malwa, is very fertile." Mandelslo, p. 20. See also *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Jarrett, II. 195.

[3] See Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 151.

Mr Crispin Blagden[1] in Agra, whereby wee understood of their welfare, whereof wee were very glad; and beinge come to our Manzull[2] (or restinge place), wee fell to our Christmas Cheare. The Cheifest dish boare the name of a peece of Rost beefe (because this day of all dayes it is most in request), but the trueth is, it was a peece of Buffalo, both hard and Tough, a sufficient tryall of our Jawes and stomacks; but for our better disgestion wee added a Cupp of Sack, of what was left us, and therewith remembring our freinds. For the rest of our good Cheare, wee found our selves beholding to Captaine Moreton, whoe furnished[3] us with some salt porke and Neats tongues English, which with much adoe, wee preserved from the doggs att our Manzulls, of which, neverthelesse, for all our care, they carried away more then came to their share. But our Servants (being Moores [Muhammadans]), consideringe howe wee loved it, would not so much as touch it with their hands or fingers, nay scarse with a paire of Tongues. If the doggs had had so much manners, they would not have carried so much away with their Teeth. Note that Hoggs flesh is held an abhomination by Moores, Turkes, as also by Jewes.

The 26th December 1630. Wee came to Dungree [Dongrī], (8 course). In our way, Signor Claus and Signor Daniell[4], 2 dutch men, came from their Caphila

[1] Crispin Blagden was in India "under Captain Browne" in 1625. He returned to England in 1626 and in January 1627 was entertained as a factor in the East India Company's service. He reached Surat in 1628 and in 1630 was sent to Agra with John Willoughby. In 1631, "in respect of his language and knowledge in travel" he was "inordered to accompany the caphila to Surat." He reached Bahādurpur in March, very "indisposed," and there he probably died, as after that date he disappears from the Company's *Records*. See *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1625—1634; *English Factories*, 1625—1634.

[2] *Manzil*, march or stage in a journey.

[3] Mundy means "had furnished." Captain Morton did not accompany the caravan. He was in Swally Road in December 1630.

[4] These two Dutch factors were probably Claes Helmont and Daniel Coller. The former was sent from Surat to Burhānpur to

(which consisted of about 800 Cammells) to meete us, and brought us to their Tent in the Middest of their Caphila, which lay neere to Cipree [Siprī], a Stone walled Towne[1], by a prettie River [the Ahīr Nadī]. Wee dined and stayed with them about two or three howres, then tooke our leaves and departed. They were bound for Suratt with their goods, beinge Indico and Saltpetre, and wee to overtake our Cammells, which was not till wee arrived to our Manzull. This day wee conceived our selves to bee in some daunger, meetinge and overtakeinge divers suspitious fellowes in verie badd places, the way beinge much of it woody and rockey and wee but weakely manned, haveing sent most of our people alonge with the Cammells.

The 27th December 1630. Wee came to Nurware [Narwār], (6 course) passinge through a Mountainous Rockie and woody Countrie[2], seeing by the way many ruynes of faire buildings, of which this Towne consisted, it being the best wee saw yett, seated by a Rivers side [the Sind] in a valley among many Hills [the Vindhyās], Upon one of which adjoyninge to the Towne, stands a Castle, or rather a Cittie for its greatnesse. The whole Topp of the hill (being plaine) is about three miles in Compasse and is taken in with a mightie stone wall[3].

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buy saltpetre in July 1629, and wrote from that place in March 1630 relating his difficulties in dispatching the consignment. *Hague Transcripts*, no. ccxcviii. In a letter of 11 March 1631 Helmont is called "Closse, the Duch." He was then at "Roude" (Arāvad). *English Factories*, 1630—1634, p. 138.

Daniel Coller is mentioned at Surat in August and November of 1632. In November 1633 he was one of the signatories to a contract between the English and Dutch regarding the trade in indigo. In a letter of January 1634 his "sad and sudden death" in or about December 1633 is noted to the Directors of the Dutch East India Company. *Hague Transcripts*, nos. cccvii., cccv., cccxix.

[1] See Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 151 *n.*

[2] "A road desolate and infested with robbers." De Laët, tr. Lethbridge, p. 38.

[3] See Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 152 and note. Tieffenthaler, I. 175—176, has a detailed description of the fortress and walls of Narwār, and of the "faire large Tancke" also. See also *Archaeol. Survey Report*, II. 307—321.

This lyes to the westward of the Towne, And to the Southward is a faire large Tancke[1] wherein, to our seemeinge, were thousands of wilde fowle, but the Raya [Rājā] of the place hath forbidden the killinge of them, on paine of looseing a hand. This Towne hath many faire Tombes etts. buildings and plentie of all provisions.

The 28th December 1630. On the left hand as wee came hither (Pelacha [Paraich][2], 7 course) was a very high hill, and on the very topp thereof, a faire Messitt [*masjid*, mosque] and Tombes (for some tymes they are all in one); on the right hand a goodly fruitefull Countrie. Heere wee laye in a good Sara.

The 29th December 1630. By the way hither (Burre Ka Sarae [Barh kī Sarāī], 7 course) wee passed through a Champain Countrey, full of villages, with many faire wells called Beaulees[3], running brookes of water, and Tancks which did abound with wilde fowle of all sorts, as geese ducks, widgeon, Teale, Also Gaelones[4] this Countrie fowle.

The 30th December 1630. Wee came to Gualleere [Gwalior], (9 course), a Towne verie much adorned with faire stone gates, Tombes, messitts, the forepart of their houses supported with stone pillars. Round about were many faire buildings, as Tombes, beaulies or deepe wells, Arches, etts., shewing themselves farr and neere, very beautifull to see both within and without the Towne.

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[1] This tank must have been recently constructed when Mundy saw it, for Cunningham (*Archaeol. Survey Report*, II. 324) says it bears an inscription dated S. 1687 = A.D. 1630.

[2] Tieffenthaler (I. 180) calls this place "Palaitscha" and mentions a fortress on a slightly elevated situation, but has no allusion to Mundy's *masjid*.

[3] *Bāolī*, a step-well.

[4] By "gaelones" Mundy means the galeeny (*gallina morisca*, guinea fowl) and not the guinea-hen (turkey); see *Relation* XVIII. *infra*. These birds were sometimes confused in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and both are common nowadays in this part of India. The earliest quotation given in the *O. E. D.* of "galina" for a guinea-fowl is 1796.

Gwalior—

An admirable, strong and beautiful Castle.

But the Castle above all is to bee admired, being a worke of Magnificence and gallant prospect, both Nature and Art haveinge bene very liberall and free thereon[1]. It stands elevated on a very high hill[2] in the midle of a great plaine, The Topp whereof is levell and in Compasse alofte about 2 miles, Crowned with the aforesaid Castle. The walls and Turretts whereof extend to the Extreamest part of it every way, from whence downewards unaccessablie steepie and rockie, and I conceive $\frac{1}{5}$th of a mile perpendiculer, under which lyes the Towne; and on that side [the eastern] is the Ascent or goeing upp to the said Castle not soe steepie as the rest, but with soe many intricate walls, bulwarks, etts. fortifications that it is strange to behold. On the sides of the hill or rock are holes or habitations of foqueeres[3] (a kinde of voluntarie beggars in India), whoe can neither goe upp or downe, haveing their meat lett downe to them by a stringe; the wall round about well kept and repaired, full of battlements, Turretts and goodly edifices, amonge the rest the kings howse [the palace of Mān Singh] to the Towneward, A Costlie and curious buildinge, adorned with Galleries, windowes, Copulaes [cupolas] pillers etts. Curiosities. Heere the Kinge keepes his noblemen prisoners (such as deserve it), from whence they hardlie [with difficulty] gett out againe. The Compasse of the skirts of this hill may

[1] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 has: "But the Castle most of all is admirall as if nature and Arte had agreed to make this place the patterne of state and magnificence."

[2] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 has a marginal note here: "From the sides of this hill are great store of loadstones digged out and transported."

[3] In the margin Mundy has written: "Joogees [*jogī*], foqueeres [*fakīr*]." He is alluding to the dwellers in the caves containing the famous rock-sculptures at Gwalior, executed *c.* 1460 and mutilated by order of the Emperor Bābar in 1527.

bee neere 4 miles, and for my part it is the rarest place that ever I sawe, I speake for the outside of this Castle, and all in generall considered, it seemes rather the worke and monuments of the Auntient Romaines then of Barbarous Indians, as wee esteeme them, such is the wonderfull warlike and delightsome prospect of all, as well the Castle as Towne etts. places heere adjacent[1]. The designe thereof I have sett downe, which somewhat resembles the manner of it[2].

To this may bee added a great deepe ditch by which wee came alonge, neere 3 miles in length and reacheth within one mile of the Towne, which was told us was made long tyme since by the Kinge of this place to bringe a River to Gualleire, but proved to noe effecte. It may bee by Judgment 12 fathome deepe, and 20 fathom broade, verie narrowe in the Bottome, where was to bee seene a litle Channell with gravell and peble stones, signes of runninge water, which may bee only in tyme of raynes. Now it remaines only as a Monument of extraordinary labour and Cost to small purpose[3]. Heere are two very faire Saraes. This place is nominated to yeild the best

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[1] The fortress of Gwalior from its cession to Akbar until 1761 remained in Mogul hands and was used mainly as a state prison. All the seventeenth century travellers were impressed with the strength of Gwalior castle and are very full on the subject. For various descriptions, see Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*, p. 511; Jourdain, ed. Foster, pp. 152—153 and 364 (Finch's account); De Laët, tr. Lethbridge, p. 10; Mandelslo, p. 20; Tavernier, ed. Ball, I. 62; Thévenot, Pt. III. pp. 66—68; Manucci, I. 69—70; Ovington, p. 362 ff. None of these travellers, however, mention the *fakīrs'* caves which so impressed Mundy, and he, on his part, has no reference to the stone elephant described by nearly all the authors. For a detailed history of Gwalior fortress, Mān Singh's palace, &c., see *Archaeol. Survey Report*, II. 330—396.

[2] See Illustration No. 5. Tieffenthaler, I. 246, has an illustration of Gwalior castle and a full description on p. 186.

[3] Mundy appears to be alluding to one of the numerous irrigation works, perhaps the Motī-jhīl, constructed by Mān Singh during his reign of 37 years (1486—1523).

No. 5. GWALIOR FORT, 1631

Chambelee[1] or sweete oyle which is much used in India to annoynt their heads and bodyes, and is from hence carried to divers places.

The 31th December 1630. Wee passed by many small ruinated and depopulated Townes, but the cause hereof wee could not learne. Heere (Mende Sara [? Mundiākherā], 11 course) wee received another letter from our freinds in Agra.

The 1st January 1630/31. Wee came to Dholpoore [Dholpur], (9 course), neere to which wee passed over a faire and learge River [the Chambal] as broad as the Thames in many places now in the drye time[2]; but the bancks are twice as broad, which are filled in tymes of rayne and very deepe. Heere are many great passinge boates, both ends lookeing upwards like a halfe moone or as you use to painte Shipps of auntient tymes, or Noahs Arke[3]. Heere are great store of fowle. Wee had some trouble passing over. Some 3 miles before wee came to the river, wee passed through the strangest peece of ground that ever I sawe. I cannot better compaire it then to the tumblinge and totteringe waves of the sea in a storme. Before wee came neere all appeared plaine, but att our approach wee found it all such strange deepe Crackte ground in generall that it was fearefull to see, amongst which lay our way, and indeede very daungerous, for there might lurke many thousand, and wee never the wiser, it

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[1] *Chambēlī* or *jasminum grandiflorum*. "Fine smelling flowers. The *Chambēlī*. White, yellow and blue. In the rains, and partly during winter." *Āīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, I. 76. "For their flowers...not many of them...are any way fragrant. Amongst them that are, there is one white flower, like to Spanish jessamin (if it be not the same), which is exceedingly well scented, of which they make a most excellent pure sweet oil, with which they anoint their heads and other parts of their bodies; which makes the company of those that do so very savoury and sweet." Terry, p. 99.

[2] See Finch's description quoted in Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 153 *n*.

[3] Several Indian boats correspond with this description, *e.g.* the *pulwār* or skiff, the *kholnaiyā* or gondola and the *dēngī* or dinghy.

was soe full of intricate passages, Trenches, Crackes, [etts.][1] verie deepe and thick together. The occasion hereof, God knowes. Only I conceive thus much :—the ground att first was (questionlesse) plaine as the rest, which being verie softe and clayish, then raineing upon it, the Sunne commeing on that againe, cawsed att first some small Cliffs[2] or Cracks, upon which following more rayne washed them deeper from tyme to tyme even to the present profunditie carryeinge all that wanted betwene into the River; or otherwise some Earthquake That should shatter it soe.

Haveing passed the River [the Chambal], wee found the like ground on the other side for three miles, and then wee came to firme ground againe, where were many faire Tombes, Messitts[3] etts., and a Beaulee or well of admirable workemanshipp and depth, The descent consistinge of above 80 stepps, a faire and artificiall arched porch for entrance, and many passages with staires, roomes and galleries as you goe downe, on either hand alike, all built of learge redd stone. The Kinge is also buildinge a new Towne heere which by its begininge doth promise much for state and Coste[4].

The 2d January 1630/31. In the way hither (Saya [Saiyan, Sainya], 11 course) wee passed over a faire large stone bridge[5], comparable to that of Rochester. It had 20 greate Arches, 2 Piramides att either end, with prettie

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[1] This word is added from the copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286.

[2] The *Harl.* copy has "clifts."

[3] Under Akbar, Dholpur was the residence of Imperial governors, and it is to buildings erected by them that Mundy is probably alluding.

[4] Mundy is evidently alluding to the suburb of Dholpur erected by Fathu'llah Khan, Shāh Jahān's Sūbadār and called after him Fathābād. See *Rajputana Gaz.*, ed. 1879, 1. 247 and 265. The *Gaz. of Eastern Rajputana*, 1905, omits this historical confirmation of our author's statement.

[5] Possibly at Jāju where the road crosses the Utangan river.

Cupalaes etts. in the midle, whereof this Countrey uses much about their Tombes, messitts, Saraes, etts.

The 3d January 1630/31. Wee arrived att the Cittie of Agra (9 course), the now imperiall seat of the great Mogoll or kinge of India[1], lyeing in the Province of Hindaston, our much longed for place of repose, and with much joy were received by our loveing freinds, Mr William Fremling [Fremlen] and Mr Crispin Blagden, three miles forth of Towne. Nott long after came Signor Henrici Vapore[2], Principall of the Dutch, And soe altogether wee went to Darreecubaag [the Dehra Bāgh], the Kings garden, and haveinge refreshed our selves there some 3 or 4 howres, wee departed to the English howse, where some 2 or three dayes passed in receiveinge and visitinge our freinds, *vizt.*, Signor Vapore, Signor Salomon[3], etts. of the Dutch howse, Signor Jeronimo[4], an Italian, Signor Francisco, a

[1] Prince Khurram was proclaimed Emperor at Agra on the 6th February 1628, under the title of Shāh Jahān. Agra remained the capital until his death when the seat of govenment was once more transferred to Delhi.

[2] Hendrik Arentszen Vapour, about whom an amusing incident is recorded in 1629. In January Vapour came from Agra to Surat with a caravan of Dutch goods and started to return in April. On the 25th "at the gate of the city Factor Hendrik Arents Vapour was detained by the guards and ordered to dismount. A quarrel ensued and Vapour was wounded in the arm but managed to leave the gate. The governor sent 50 horsemen after him commanding him to return to Suratte, which order Vapour ignored but sent Mr (*sic*) van der Graaff with his horse, which they had tried to detain, to explain matters and complain of the rough treatment the party had received. On arriving before the governor it was found that the horse was not a Persian breed at all but an ordinary nag. Many excuses were offered and the fault thrown on the guards." *Hague Transcripts*, no. cxcviii. Vapour died about the end of the year 1632. *Dagh Register*, 1631—1634, p. 169.

[3] Salomon Voorknekt, Dutch factor, was sent from Surat to Agra, in charge of a caravan, in 1629. In 1634 he was at Surat and was one of the signatories of a contract between the Dutch and English relating to the indigo trade. In 1636 and 1642 he was at Agra, after which date I have found no mention of him. See *Hague Transcripts*, nos. ccxcviii. and cccxiv.; *Dagh Register*, 1636 and 1642. Mundy has a further allusion to Voorknekt in 1633 (*Relation* XVI.).

[4] Jeronimo Veroneo. He and Francisco are both mentioned again in *Relation* XV.

Frenchman, and other Christians, and then applyed our selves to follow the Companies affaires, accordinge to the enorderinge of our Principall. Gods holy name be praised for our preservation to this place[1].

From Suratt to Brampore [Burhānpur] is accompted small course	170
From Brampore to Agra is accompted great course	226
170 small course att 1¼ mile per course is miles	212½
226 great course att 1½ mile per course is miles	339
in all	551½
396 Course of India make English Miles	551½

And this is the smallest Computation that I thinck ever was made, for there bee some that make it 700, other[2] 800, and some 1000 miles, but I have recconed as neere as I could Judge, and with the least of the number of the said Courses[3]. I informed my selfe dayly of our Carters and Cammellers as wee passed from place to place, whoe accompted the great course to be much longer then is heere sett downe. Howsoever, by my Judgment and some tryall, it is nearest 1½ miles, rather more.

Theis Courses are vulgar, but those used by the Kinge and great men are farr longer[4], for when they travell among other people of service (of whom there are multitudes) there be two appoynted to measure the way before

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[1] The *Harl.* copy adds "Amen."

[2] The *Harl.* copy has "others."

[3] Mundy is quite right in his statement that he has not exaggerated his mileage. In fact he has under-estimated it. Tieffenthaler, III. 27, gives the distance from Surat to Burhānpur as 201 miles (it is really about 237), and from Burhānpur to Agra as 380, *i.e.* 581 against Mundy's 551½. However, as Mundy did not follow the usual route between Asīrgarh and Dilod, but struck across country in a more direct line, his estimate may not be far short of the truth. Pelsart's estimate is much higher. He says (p. 19) that from Surat to Agra, *viâ* "Baramprour" is "500 cos."

[4] The *Harl.* copy has a marginal note here: "How much the antient Corse is and how measured."

him[1], which is in this manner:—There is a lyne of 25 common Cords [?*gaz*] of Agra in length, the ends thereof made fast over two mens sholdeers, which they stretch att length. Then the former makes a Stroake on the ground with a staffe and passeth foreward, the other following him, alwaies keepeing the said lyne Tought [taut] and Straight. And when the hindermost cometh to the Stroke hee calleth out, which is for that one they have gon. Then att that instant doth the other make another marke, being then the length of the lyne before him; and when the latter cometh upp to the Stroke hee cryeth againe, which is the Second, and the foremost marketh againe; and soe untill they make 200 of the said lynes, never stoppinge att all, but continually goe on a good pace, keepeinge their recconinge on beads[2]. And so much is their auntient Course, *vizt.*, 200 lines att 25 Coards is Coards 5000[3]; att $\frac{4}{5}$ yards English is yards 4000; att 3 foote per yard is 12000 Foote; att 1000 paces Geometricall per mile and 5 foote per pace is 5000 feete per mile. A Course, 12000 of the said feete, is $2\frac{2}{5}$[4] mile English, their auntient Course not vulgarlie knowne, only used as aforesaid by great men in their Travells; And soe the great Course mentioned in our Journey have the name thereof, but not the Contents.

Noate that from Suratt to Agra is 396 Course and amounteth unto as on thother side, English Miles 551$\frac{1}{2}$.

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[1] "Whenever His Majesty travels, the distances are recorded in pole measurements by careful surveyors, and their calculations are audited by the Superintendent and inspector." *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Jarrett, II. 414—415.

[2] For other accounts of "measuring the way," see Manucci, II. 70; Ovington, p. 191; Tieffenthaler, I. 24.

[3] "Akbar fixed the *kos* at...400 poles, each pole of 12$\frac{1}{2}$ *gaz* or 5000 *gaz* to the *kos*. *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Jarrett, II. 414.

[4] Akbar's *kos* was, however, rather more than 2$\frac{1}{2}$ miles. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Coss; Elliot, *Hist. of India*, VII. 163. Mundy's "cord" is clearly the *gaz* of *c.* 33 in., probably through "covid," then its equivalent.

MUNDY'S PRIVATE LETTERS.

Appendix to Relation VI.

Two letters from Peter Mundy to Crispin Blagden, dated 24th January 1631. *O. C. Nos.* 1339 *and* 1339A.

Mr Crispin Blagden

Your good health and prosperous Journey[1] wished for in the first place. Next, these are to advise you that this morning very early I writt to Sigr. Gaspar[2] aboutt your Jewell, which returned answear that it was nott ready butt would be by Dopore [*do-pahar*, noon], which were I ascertained [assured of], I would have kept one of these men to have carried it you. Howsoever I will send to him againe; and if itt bee ready, and that it may com [to] you in tyme, I will send one from our house away with itt; [or] when nott [if not then], itt may bee sentt to overtake you on the way. As for the Pistol, as in regard I am butt slenderly armed here and you are better and bigger provided there, I do entreat you to leave it for my owne defence, not knoweing how soon I may have occasion to use itt. So ending, as I began, with my prayers to almighty God for your good Journey, I Committ you to his gratious protection and Remayn, Your very loving freind

Peter Mundy

[24*th*] *January Anno* 1630 [1631]

[Endorsed]

To his very loving freind Mr Crispin Blagden Merchant In Mogulcaseroy [Mughal-kī-sarāī][3].

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[1] Blagden was in charge of the Company's *kāfila* from Agra to Surat. See *ante*, note on p. 58.

[2] "Sigr. Gaspar" is probably identical with the "Gaspar Boudaen," mentioned in 1636 as the owner of a "magnificent jewel" of which Shāh Jahān desired the refusal. See *Hague Transcripts*, no. cccxxxv.

[3] This caravan station, the modern Mughal Sarāī, was Mundy's halting-place on the 22nd December 1630. See *ante*, p. 56.

Mr Blagden

Sig. Gaspar this afternoone sent your Jewell which goeth here inclosed, but hee sent not word of any thing dew to him for making etts. I doe send it you Imediately upon receipt, and these beeing to no other purpose doe Committ you to God and Remayne, Your loving Freind

PETER MUNDY

Agra the 24th January 1630 [1631]

Tisserapore (*tīsrā pahar*, afternoon)

[Endorsed as before]

Letter from Peter Mundy to John Skibbow, dated 6th September 1631. *O. C. No.* 1373.

[Mr John S]kibbowe[1] and Worthily respected Freind

By a letter receaved from Mr Glascocke[2] the 2d Currantt, I perceave what you had Don ffor mee; Nott only paying unto him Ms. [*mahmūdīs*] 409 : 13, which were in your hands of Myne, Butt allso impresting mee Ms: 500 more, which could never com mee better to passe, and ffor the same I Do render you many humble and hearty thancks ffor your kind Remembrance. By letters receaved the same tyme,

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[1] See *ante*, note on p. 22.

[2] Henry Glascock was entertained as a factor by the Court in January 1626. He went to Surat, and in 1631 was appointed "to followe the customehouse buisines" there. In 1632 he applied for permission to return to England, his six years agreement being expired; but as he was then acting as Warehousekeeper and could not be spared, he was detained till 1632, when he sailed with Mundy in the *Mary* as appears in *Relation* XIX. On his arrival in England he was accused of having carried on extensive private trade and was called on to explain how, in spite of having been "a great gamester and lost at dice above 2,500 *l.*," he had yet come home with "a very great estate." After various denials, Glascock owned to a certain amount of private trading and acknowledged that he had burnt his account books before leaving Surat. In February 1635 he was fined £400, but on the intercession of his brother the sum was "abated" by 300 marks. At the end of the same year Glascock petitioned, first for re-employment under the Company, and next for a passage to India in one of the Company's ships. Both requests were refused, and he then joined Courteen's Association and once more became associated with Mundy. See *Cal. State Papers, E.I.*, 1625—1634; *English Factories*, 1626—1634; *Court Minutes*, 1635—1643.

I was ascertained You were gon to Bantam, and att your retourne thatt you were resolved ffor England. God grauntt all may bee with health and prosperity, uppon which occasion I shall make bould with you once againe and trouble [you] with a letter to bee Delivered to Mr Job Harby[1], which I will make r[ead]y and send before your Departure. I have not more to inlarge [bu]tt my pr[ayers to the] Almighty to prosper your intended voyage and bring y[ou saf]e[2] to thatt good land where wee all hope to arrive att length, and soe Remayne, Yours to bee Commaunded

PETER MUNDY

Agra the 6th September Anno 1631

[Endorsed]

To his very much esteemed and Worthy freind
Mr John Skibbow Merchant,
delivered In Surat

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[1] For Mundy's connection with Job (afterwards Sir Job) Harby, see vol. I. p. liii.

[2] The letters and words between square brackets are torn or illegible in the original.

RELATION VII.

A JOURNEY FROM AGRA TO COLE [KOIL] AND SHAWGURRE[1] [SHERGARH], BEING DISPEEDED BY MR FREMLIN ABOUT THE COMPANIES AFFAIRES, *VIZT.*

The 17th December Anno 1631. I departed from Agra in the afternoone and that night went noe further then the other side of the River Jemina [Jamnā], (Shecundra, 1 course)[2], where wee stayed in a poore Sarae.

The 18th December 1631. Wee came to Jellesere [Jalesar], (13 course), passing by and through theis Townes, *vizt.* Nusarae[3], 3 course; Aulkeera [Anwalkherā], 2 course; Neemake sarae [Sarāī Nīm], 4 Course; and to this place, 4 course; in all 13 Course. This is a great Towne, haveing a Castle[4].

A Robberie—A daungerous place [Jalesar].

To day morninge in our way there was 7 or 8 bundles of Cowdunge fuell and a boy standinge by it, whoe told us that a litle before day certaine theeves had carried away

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[1] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 has: "A little journey from Agra to Cole and Shawgurre, the River Ganges etts."

[2] Sikandra is 5 miles N.W. of Agra.

[3] Nau Sarāī or the new *sarāī*, probably identical with the modern Sarāī Hazam.

[4] According to Cunningham, the fort at Jalesar is supposed to have been founded by the Rājās of Tārāgarh and was altered and occupied by Muhammadan governors. See *Archaeol. Survey of India*, IV. 215—216.

Two weomen, 4 Oxen and 6 asses, which were goeinge towards Agra, and meeteing them in that place, threw downe the fewell and boy, takeinge along with them the Weomen and Cattle, departed; hereabouts beinge the most daungerous place for Robbers that is in all India (by report), as usuall neere to great Citties. Alsoe att Neemeke Sarae, where wee baited, there was taken perforce from thence the foregoeinge night two Horses and some Carts.

The 19th December 1631. This Towne is also called Shecundra[1] (8 course). It hath a Castle; nothinge els to day worth Notice.

The 20th December 1631. Wee discerned this place (Cole [Koil][2], 14 course) longe before wee came to it, because it standeth on a round hill, haveing a highe Tower on the topp that may bee seene a farr offe[3]. It is a faire Towne with a Castle, but in none of theis Castles could I perceave any Ordinance. Halfe way wee past through another great Towne called Ecbareabad [Akbarābād, now Akrabād], much dispeopled by sicknes.

Munares with dead mens heads.

One day (my busines permitting mee) I went to take the ayre about the Towne, and att one side thereof were many Munaries[4] or litle Turretts with many mens heads

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[1] The modern Sikandra Rao.

[2] The ancient town of Koil joins the suburb of Aligarh and is now usually called by the latter name.

[3] The Koil Mīnār, erected in A.D. 1253 to commemorate the victories of Sultān Nāsiru'd-dīn. It was pulled down in 1862. For a description of the tower see *District Gaz. of the United Provinces*, VI. 165; *Transactions Archaeol. Society of Agra*, 1874, pp. vii.—xii.

[4] *Mīnār*, turret, obelisk. Compare Manucci, ed. Irvine, I. 134: "Every time that a general won a victory the heads of the villagers were sent as booty to the city of Agra....After twenty-four hours the heads were removed to the imperial highway, where they were hung from the trees or deposited in holes on pillars built for this purpose. Each pillar could accommodate one hundred heads."

round about it, made into Morter. It is built of purpose, in forme like a Pigeon howse, not exceedinge 3 or 4 yards in height and soe many more in compasse[1]. Theis heads were of certaine Theeves lately taken by the Fousdare [*faujdār*] of this government, Tage Ckaun [Tāj Khān][2]. There bodies were hunge upp by the heeles in a grove of Mango trees, and by which wee also passed through. Of theis Theeves soe lately taken, some were roasted alive, and the rest their heads cutt off; Alsoe about the Towne were many of their bodyes on Stakes[3]. Munares are comonly neere to great Citties.

A Fousedarre is a Captaine of 2 or 3000 horse with 5 or 6000 foote, more or lesse accordinge to the place where hee is sent, appoynted of purpose to keepe that part of the Countrey quiet[4], there beinge a Governour besides ordinarilie; but this man held both places, haveinge his maintenance from the Labourers whoe are generally Hindowes, whome they call Gauares[5], useing them as the Turks doe the poore Christians that live under his Tyrannie (in some parts), takeinge from them all they can gett by their labour, leaveinge them nothinge but their badd mudd walled ill thatched covered howses, and a few Cattell to till the ground, besides other misseries[6]. For theeves that forage over this part of the Countrie doe many tyme belonge to Some stronge place afarr off, takeing their

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[1] See Illustration No. 6.

[2] I have found no reference to any official of this title. According to the *Gaz. of the N. W. Provinces*, 1875, II. 488, Nijābat Khān was *faujdār* of the district now known as Aligarh, at the beginning of Shāh Jahān's reign.

[3] See Terry's account (p. 354) of punishments for murder and theft.

[4] Mundy uses the term *faujdār* as a military governor of a district, but under the Mogul Government the term was usually applied to an officer in charge of the police. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Foujdar.

[5] *Ganwār*, *gawār*, *gwār*, a rustic.

[6] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 has marginal notes: "The estate of the Common Countrie people—theyre miseries."

lodgeings in theis poore villages (which they [the villagers] durst not contradict nor cannot prevent), from whence they make their Sallies on passengers. Newse hereof cometh to the Fousedare, whoe makes to the place with his Laskarre [*lashkar*, camp, army], and without resistance kills most of the men. The rest, with weomen and Children, are carried away and sold for Slaves. Otherwhile the people of a whole Towne are removed to another afarr off, and the people of that towne to this againe. This happens sometymes to those that are Innocent; But for the most part the Townes themselves are not without store of theevish Gacoares[1]. Heere nowe are in this Castle about 200 of them[2] prisoners, because they cannot pay the Tax imposed on them, which heretofore was paid when their Corne was sold; but now they must pay for it in the ground. This is the life of the Hindoes or Naturalls of Hindostan etts. [and other] parts of India under the subjection of the Mogoll hereawaies.

The 24th December 1631. I departed from Cole and came to Kerneabaz [Karanbās] (17 course), seated on the bancks of the river Ganges (called heere Gonga [Gangā]). In our way wee passed through divers Townes, as Shirta [Chhērat], Shercoopoore [Shekhupur] where wee baited, also [3], att whose gate wee found the brother to Raia Aneerae[4] (in whose Jagaere[5] wee now were), with

[1] Mundy appears to be alluding to marauding Gakkhars. For the history of this Rājpūt tribe, see *Ind. Ant.* XXXVI. 8—9; and *Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N. W. Frontier Province*, II. 274—277.

[2] "Them" refers to the villagers and not to the "theevish Gacoares."

[3] There is a blank here in the original.

[4] Anūp Rāī, one of Jahāngīr's Rājpūt attendants, who risked his life for the Emperor in a tiger-hunting expedition and was rewarded with the title of Anī Rāī Singh-dalan and a grant of 84 villages under the name of the *pargana* of Anūpshahr. See *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, pp. 186—188; *Dist. Gaz. United Provinces*, v. 148: Roe, ed. Foster, p. 282.

[5] *Jāgīr*, an assignment of land and income therefrom: estate.

many other on horseback, and footmen armed with Guns, bowes, launces, etts. demaunding of us what wee were and whither wee went that way. To whome, giveing faire words, wee passed. This they doe because that sometymes men of Noate doe flie out of this Kingdome (which reacheth not above 80 or 100 Course this waie) to Comaun Ghurre [Kumaon Garh] belonging to a Raie [Rājā] not subject to this Kinge[1], although hee send him presents now and then.

Ganges River.

The River Ganges (vulgarly called Gonga, by somme of the better sort, Ganghem)[2], soe famous in auntient tymes and att present, and noe lesse honoured by the Hindooes, Had att this place (3 course [from Karanbās]) and tyme noe more water then runneth before Blackwall att full Sea (it beinge now out of the raynes); neither were the Bancks much more then ½ a mile from side to side hereabouts, although both above and belowe it the Channell appeares to be above 2 miles in breadth, which is full of great shelves and bancks of verie white sand, amonge which the water runneth heere and there. Att the place where I passed over is about 7 or 8 fathome deepe, the water of somewhat a darke Greene. In tyme of Raines it overflowes the Bancks the distance of 8 or 9 miles, the banck of the hither side somewhat highe, and the Countrie for 10 or 12 course verie fruitefull, pleasant, peaceable, and well governed, being in the Jaggueere of Raja Aneera

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[1] The district of Kumaon was governed by the Chand Rājās, who, as Mundy rightly observes, were practically independent. The ruler at this time was Trimal Chand (1625—1638). See *Gaz. N. W. P.*, 1884, XI. 560. By Kumaon Garh Mundy seems to mean the old fort near Almora, then the capital. See *op. cit.*, p. 539.

[2] Mundy is here probably confusing the term *gāngam*, Ganges-water, *i.e.* holy water from the Ganges, for Gangā, the vernacular name of the Ganges itself. I am indebted to Dr F. W. Thomas for this suggestion.

aforesaid. Of Ganges I can say noe more att present, although the superstitious Hindoos reporte a thousand fables of it, and come as many miles almost to wash themselves in it cleane of all their sinns, it being accompted most sacred amongst them. I passed to the farther side in a small boate, but swamme back, it being not very broad, as afore mentioned.

Note that from Cole hither I came not about the Companies busines, but understanding the River to bee soe neere, and haveinge some leasure, I tooke occasion to come and see it.

The 25th December 1631. I returned to Cole (17 course) where in fewe dayes I bought, weyed, filled and skinned 40 great fardles[1] of Indico, enordringe some servants to goe to convey it to Agra, myselfe being to goe for Shawgur [Shergarh][2] about the Companies Saltpeter lyeinge there.

The 8th January 1631/2. I came to Shawgurr (8 course), where I weighed, filled, skinned, and howsed about 400 Fardles Saltpeter. This is the onlye place about Agra where it is sold and made, which is after this manner. From about 20 Course of[f] they bring a kinde of earth on Carts, which is spread abroad in places made of purpose, powringe water thereto, which in few dayes will Cake like Ice on the Topp. This they take away now and then, and after refine it by boylinge it in water, all the durt and trash goeinge to the bottome. This is the best Saltpeter that is transported out of India to Christendome[3].

[1] Fardle, or fardel, a bundle, was the English term for the churl, the Anglo-oriental unit by which indigo was bartered (see Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, III. 171 *n.*). Foster, *English Factories*, 1618—1621 (p. 60 *n.*), gives the weight of the greater churl as a little over five maunds and of the smaller about four. Mundy's "great fardle" would therefore be equal to the greater churl.

[2] Shergarh on the right bank of the Jamnā 22 miles north of Muttra. I have found no other mention of this place as a depôt for saltpetre.

[3] See Pelsart, pp. 11—12, for saltpetre in the neighbourhood of Agra and the manner of making it.

With the Courser sort, water or other drincks are made very Coole in this Countrey in tyme of heats, by puttinge a quantitie to dissolve into a Kettle of water; and in it they continually stirr the vessell with the fresh water etts. till it growe coole[1].

A Raja is heere Governour under the Kinge, although accompted halfe a Rebell.

The 16th January 1631/2. I returned to Agra (32 course) another way which is heere omitted, I say the perticuler names of the Townes etts. passages.

From Agra to Cole and soe to Ganges amounteth unto Course 56, att 1½ mile each, which is miles 84

From Ganges back to Cole, from thence to Shawgurr and soe to Agra is course 64, miles 96

Miles 180

[1] See *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, I. 55—56, for a similar account.

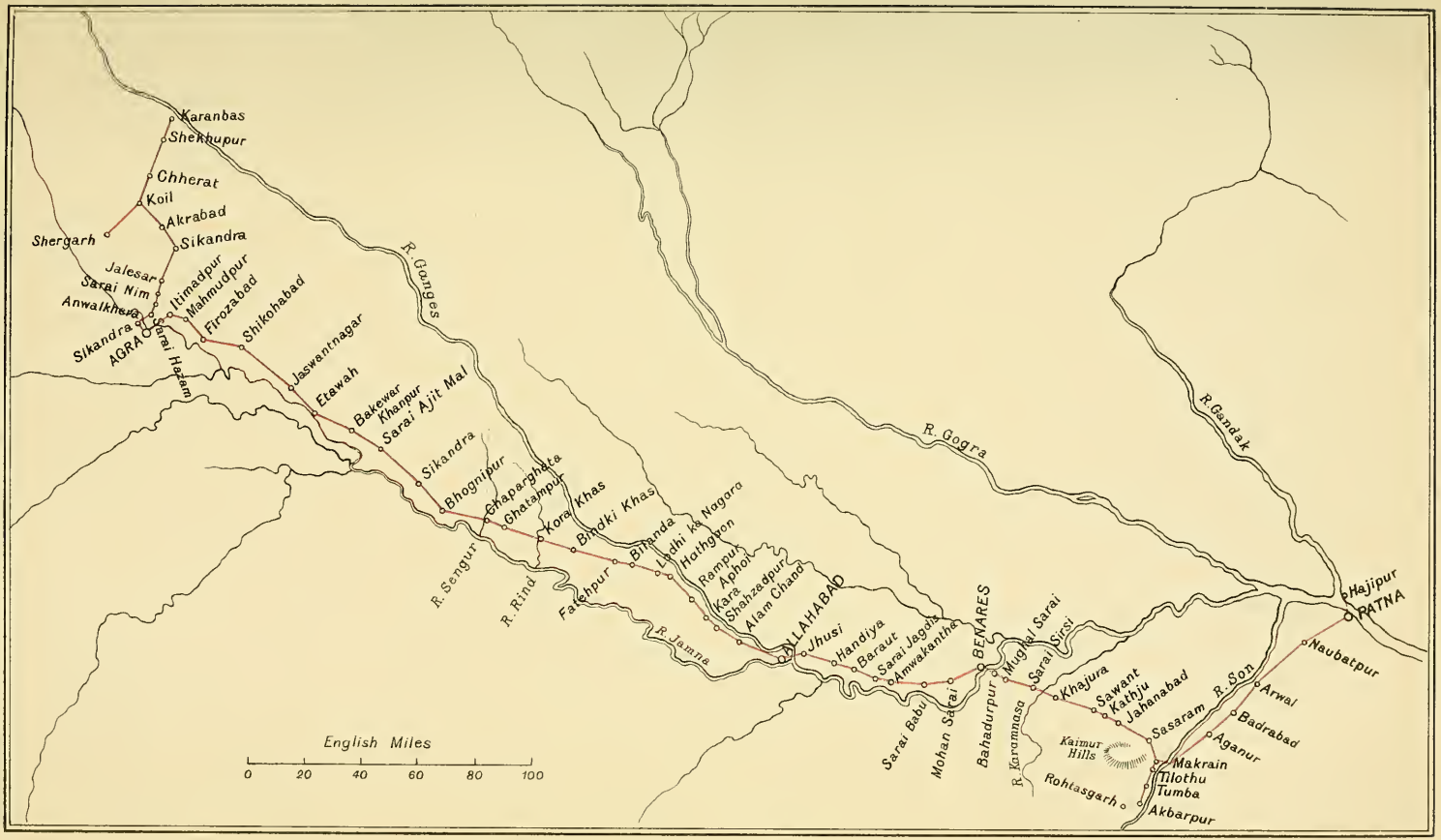
RELATION VIII.

A JOURNEY FROM AGRA TO PUTTANA IN THE BORDERS OF BENGALA, WITH 8 CARTS LADEN WITH QUICKSILVER, A SMALL PARCELL OF VERMILLION, AND SOME ENGLISH CLOTH FOR THE ACCOMPT OF THE HONBLE. COMPANIE, TO BEE THERE SOLD AND RETURNES MADE[1], AS ALSO TO SEE THE STATE OF THE COUNTREY AND WHAT HOPES OF BENEFITT BY TRADEINGE INTO THOSE PARTS, *VIZT.*

The 6th August Anno 1632. I departed from our howse in Agra, beinge in the Streete called Pullhuttee [*phal-hattī*, fruit and vegetable market], and crossing over the river, I came to Noore mohol ca Sara (1 course), which is a very faire one, built by the old Queene Noore mohol [Nūr Mahal] for the accommodation of Travellers[2], in which may stand 500 horse, and there may conveniently lye 2 or 3000 people ; All of Stone, not one peece of Timber in it, the roomes all arched, each with a severall Copula. It

[1] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 adds: "and the money to be there Invested."

[2] The *sarāī*, called after Jahāngīr's queen, was built by him in the district known as Nūrmahal. A portion of the building still exists and the gateway was restored and repaired in 1882. See *Preserv. of Nat. Monuments in India*, 3d Report.



Mundy's Routes: Agra to Karanbas 1631;
Agra to Patna 1632.

stands betwene Two gardens, built also by her[1]. Mr John Robinson accompanied mee over.

The 7th August 1632. Wee remained all day in ditto Sarae. About ten a Clock morninge came Mr Fremlin and Mr Yard over to us, and altogether [we all together] went into one of the aforesaid Gardens, where wee dined and passed away the tyme till 4 in the afternoone, att which tyme Mr Fremlen and Mr Robbinson, with Mr Yard, tooke theire leaves, returned to Agra, and left mee to prosecute my tedious and troublesome Journey. Att this instant came Sanderdas [Sundar Dās] to goe alonge with mee for an Assistant. Hee was Couzin to Gourdas [Gur Dās], (Broker in Surat)[2], to Dongee [Dhanjī], our Broker in Agra, and Panju [Panjū] in Baroache [Bharoch, Broach], theis being the Sonns of two brothers, whereof Jaddoo [Jādū], Broker in Brampore [Burhānpur], is the 3d[3]. Now, whereas I mentioned Mr John Robbinson to bee in Agra, You shall understand that on my request to the President and Councell att Suratt to lycense my repaire to my Countrie (my tyme being neere expired)[4],

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[1] One of these gardens is the Motī Bāgh, which Mundy tells us, in *Relation* xv., was built by Nūr Mahal. The second garden may represent the site of Nawāl (or Nawāb) Ganj, erected in Shāh Jahān's reign. See Cunningham, *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, iv. 159—162.

[2] These words have been supplied from the copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286. There is a caret in the *Rawl.* copy marking the omission.

[3] Jādū and his nephews were in the Company's service for nearly a quarter of a century. Gur Dās was broker at Ahmadābād and Surat. He died in 1632. Dhanjī, "your auncient Agra broker," was dismissed, in 1644, for "negligence in your busines, disrespective abearance...but chiefly for endeavoring to distroy Mr Turner by sorcery." Panjū, after twenty years' service at Broach and Ahmadābād, was also dismissed, in 1636, on account of "misdoings." Jādū was broker and interpreter at Surat as early as 1611. In Sir Thomas Roe's time he was "Court broker" at Agra. In 1623 he embezzled the Company's money and was removed from his post, but in 1630 he was again in favour. In 1633 he was reported to be "very poor." The latest mention I have found of him is at Agra in 1635. See *Letters Received*, 1611—1617; *English Factories*, 1618—1645.

[4] Mundy's five years' agreement expired in February 1633.

they graunted it; and thereupon sent upp the said Mr Robinson to supply my place in case of my departure. Hee came with one Captain Quaile as his Lievetennant in[1] Swally about[2]; and by reason of the great mortallitie[3] (as alsoe haveinge very good parts of his owne) [he] was entertained[4], and sent uppon [(*sic*), up here] with 253 barrells of Quicksilver, under Conduct of Mr John Leachland as farr as Brampore; and from thence to Agra himselfe came with it, whoe alsoe brought about 100 Quintalls[5] of Vermillion and 25 or 26 Balles [bales] of Broadcloth. Captaine Quaile[6] came from England in a very small vessell [the *Seahorse*] with a pattent or lycense from the Kinge to come for the redd Sea, there to make reprisall of any the Kings Enemies or those with whome hee had not peace. Att his returne from thence, hee putt into Swally without effectinge any great matter.

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[1] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 has "into."

[2] There is evidently an omission here. Perhaps the date, 1631, is intended.

[3] Owing to the pestilence succeeding the famine of the years 1630—1632.

[4] John Robinson was "entertained out of Captain Quaile's ship as factor" at a Consultation held in Surat on the 9th February 1632. *English Factories*, 1630—1634, p. 206. He is mentioned again in *Relations* XII. and XVI.

[5] A weight of one hundred pounds, a cwt. (112 lbs.).

[6] For Captain Richard Quail's Royal Commission, his seizures in the Red Sea, his quarrels with the Company's servants at Surat, and his death in October 1632, see *English Factories*, 1630—1634, pp. xvi.—xvii.

Directions and Instructions given by us the President and Councell of India in behalfe of the honble. Company to our good freindes Mr John Leachland and Mr John Robinson, in this their Journey for Brampore [Burhānpur] and Agra, with the Quicksilver and Vermilion this yeare Landed[1].

The great quantities of Quicksilver and Vermilion brought out by private traders in the *James* and her fleete the passed yeare and the *Mary* &ca., this to the honble. Companys extraordinary Losse and hindrance, hath moved us to take to consideration some waie or meanes how to cutt the combe of private traders and to reduce the foresaid Comodities to their pristine esteeme and valuation here. The former wee find, Like Hercules his fight with the Hidra, when one head is cutt of, two come in the place; the latter wee have strong hope to accomplish, our freindes Mr Fremlin &ca. in Agra advizing us in divers Letters the forenamed Comodities to be worth rupees 5 and $5\frac{1}{2}$ that seare, being of 30 pice, and is rupes 3 the Surratt seare of 18 pice, which being far more hopefull then Ms. [*mahmūdīs*] 3 and $3\frac{1}{2}$, as the price is made here (by the jugling of our Mariners and Banians together at Swally), and the proceede profitable to the Company for the supply of our enordered Indico Investment against next yeare, and saving much money Lost usually in Expences, Wee have resolved upon the sending up of all this yeare Landed by the waie of Brampore. And being deprived by the hand of Almightie God of a great number of our able freindes, have cause to give you thankes Mr John Leichland, in that at our request, before Mr Rastell his death, you accepted on the convoy of Quicksilver, treasure, &ca. for Amadabad and goodes backe againe, and now also of this imployment with these goodes for Agra, and therefore doe confer on you the full power and authoritie in convoy of the same thither, being well assured your Language and experience in the Countrey Customes and manners will passe through

[1] *Factory Records, Surat*, vol. I.

all difficulties with facillitie. Notwithstanding, for your more comfort and societie in this your Journey, wee have ordeined Mr John Robinson your Assistant and Coadjutor, who without doubt wilbe respectfull and conformable unto your injunctions; you have along with you for more safetie on the waie 4 English Musketeers who are to attend you till arrival at Brampore or encountring with the Agra Caphila, and after to returne hither in Company of the said Caphila...

Wee have upon the encouragemente given us by William Fremlin &ca. in Agra, and discouragements in base prices [here] and in Amadabad, Consigned to the said William Fremlin &ca. all the quicksilver and Vermillion and most of the cloath this yeare Landed and committed the same to the care of you, Mr John Leichland and John Robinson, who is to succeed you in authoritie in case of mortallitie; and both to be ordred and commanded by Mr William Fremlin after your arrivall in Agra, whether the Lord bring you with your charge in safetie. While you staie there, in regard of your antiquitie in the Companies service, wee assure ourselves Mr Fremlin will esteeme you, Mr Leichland, in matter of place at table next to himselfe, Mr Mundy, Mr Yard, and Mr Robinson descending in order. But if Mr John Robinson please to remaine in Agra and Mr Mundy desirous to come awaie, then doe wee confer on him the place of second to William Fremlin, as wee shall advise them by other conveiance.

If your arrivall at Brampore maie produce anie hope of sales either of Quicksilver, Vermillion, or Cloath, you have an Invoice herewith delivered you to divert you therein, and wee earnestly desire you to putt of what you can, either to the kings Circar [the *sarkār* of Agra] or otherwise. And for your better helpe therein have dispenced with our Court Broker Jaddo [Jādū], whose assistance wee well know will stood you in all things...

Wee make account not to give you anie advices for carefulnes and vigilance on the waie is needles, the danger of travailing in this Countrie being well knowne unto you, wherefore to the Almighties protection and your owne watchfull circumspection wee refer you.

You are fitted with strong waters and sword blades to gratifie anie freindes or to use your selves on the waie. Racke [*'arak*] as you know being dearer here then strong waters in England, what remaines wee praie you deliver to Mr Fremlin.

You have also a faire Persian horse, which wanteth nothing but good feeding, the famine of this place having deprived horse and man of their fitting alloweances which other times have afforded. Wee praie you sell him there if possible....

Your assured Loving Freind

Joseph Hopkinson.

Suratt the 23rd March 1631 [1632].

Mr John Leachland, an Englishman, sometymes the Companies servant, haveing done prime offices, for the love of an Indian Woman refused to returne to his Countrie (his tyme being out), and soe lives with her in Suratt, by whome hee had sundrie Children; and by reason of the great mortallitie hee was imployed in the forementioned service, haveing now noe referrence to them [the Company], but lives of himselfe. The English sometyme resort to his howse to visitt him and to passe away the tyme etts[1].

The 8th August Anno 1632. Wee departed from Noore Moholca Sarae and came to Ahmudpore [Mahmūdpur], (6 course), nothing happeninge on the way worthie notice, only two rancks of Trees, on each side of the waie one, which from neere to Agra reacheth to this place. The trees are distant one from the other about 8 or 9 ordinarie stepps, and the rancks from side to side about 40. It is generally knowne that from Agra there are such rancks of

[1] For the history of John Leachland and his family (1614—1644), see Appendix C.

Trees which reach as farr as Lahore[1], beinge 300 Course, and they say this doth to Puttana [Patna], done by Jehangereere [Jahāngīr], the Father of this kinge [Shāh Jahān], planted for the ease of Travellers and for shade in hott weather[2]. The Sort of Trees are Neeme (like to Ashe), Peeplee (like great Peare trees), Dhaca and Bhurr[3], with broad leaves; and others, which continue all waies greene, as most of all the Trees in India doe the like.

The 9th August 1632. In the way hither (Perozabad [Firozābād] 7 course) is a faire Tanck [at 'Itimādpur] four square, called Etmead ca talao ['Itimād *kā talāo*], with a faire building in the middest and a bridge to goe to it[4]. In theis Taloes [*talāo*] or Tancks, Gardens, Tombes, Saraes [*sarāī*], Beaulies [*bāolī*] or deepe wells, Theis Countrie people bestowe great Cost and are very curious in [particular about] them during their lives; but the founders being dead, if they goe to ruyne, they are seldome repaired, for heere noe man enjoyes lands or anything els but during the Kings pleasure. This Tanck is accompted one of the most auntient in India. Perozabad, where wee lay, is a good bigg Towne[5].

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[1] "Between Agra and Lahore, which two cities are now by far the chief of the empire, there is a distance of 400 miles. The whole intervening region is a perfectly level plain, and the royal road is shaded on both sides by trees, like a pleasant garden-walk." De Laët, tr. Lethbridge, pp. 10—11. See also Roe, ed. Foster, p. 537; Herbert, p. 69; Terry, p. 81; Bernier, ed. Constable, p. 284; Manucci, ed. Irvine, I. 164.

[2] "His Majesty ordered [in 1619] obelisks to be erected at the distance of every cose on the high road from Agra to Lahoor: at every third obelisk a well was sunk and each side of the road was planted with trees for the refreshment of travellers." Gladwin, *Hist. of Hindostan*, p. 47.

[3] *Nīm* (*margosa*), *pīpal* (*ficus religiosa*), *dhāk* (*butea frondosa*), *barh*, banyan (*ficus Indica*).

[4] The tank of 'Itimād Khān, who built 'Itimādpur. See *Ain Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, I. 428. See also *Gaz. N. W. P.*, VII. 745, for a description of the tank, octagonal building in the centre, and causeway leading to it.

[5] Firozābād, 25 miles N.E. of Agra. There is still an encamping ground and a rest house on the west of the town.

The 10*th August* 1632. Cominge from Perozabad, wee saw the Laskarr [*lashkar*, camp] of Mirza Muckay [Mīrzā Makkī][1], whoe had pitched his Tent a litle without the Towne, which made a verie gallant Showe, your (*sic*) smaller Tents like comon buildinges, and the other great faire Tents like to principall howses, and of the better Sort. Hee was goeing to Odesha Jagurnaut [Jagannāthpur in Orissa] to be Governour. It is a place 300 Course beyond Puttana.

About noone wee past by the Laskarr of Mirza Ana tolae [Mīrzā 'Ināyatu'llah][2], which was not soe great, nor made soe faire a shew as the former. He came from Berach [? Broach], whereof hee was Governour, beinge sent for by the Kinge, for that the Governours of places are usually changed from one place to an other once in three or four yeares.

Some 2 course short of our Monzull[3] (Shekee Sara [Shikohābād] 8 course), wee passed through a small Towne called [4] where the Kinge kept many Eliphants to feede, whereof there were 25 sent to Bengala by way of Puttana with them[5], to Catch wilde Elephants in the deserts there, which allthough they did declare unto us the

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[1] Mīrzā Makkī was a popular name for Mu'takid Khān, who succeeded Bākir Khān as Nawāb of Orissa, in 1632. He was the son of Iftikhār Khān, and is said to have been a foster-brother of Shāh Jahān. For accounts of him, see *Maāsiru'l-Umarā*, III. 482; *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, p. 303. He died at Jaunpur in October 1651 (Beale, *Dict. of Oriental Biog.*). I am indebted to Mr Beveridge for these references.

[2] He was the eldest son of Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhān and died in the 21st year of the reign of Shāh Jahān (1649). See *Āīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, I. 364 *n.* Mr Beveridge suggests that Mundy's "Berach" is intended for Broach (Bharoch). There appears to be no record of 'Ināyatu'llah as Governor of Broach, but his father was at one time Governor of Gujarāt, so it is quite possible that the son held an office in that province.

[3] *Manzil*, halting-place. See *ante*, p. 58.

[4] There is a blank here in the MS. This village may be the Manpourah of Rennell's *Bengal Atlas*.

[5] "Them" probably refers to the *lashkar* of Mīrzā 'Ināyatu'llah mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

manner, yett had I not then soe much understanding in the Language to conceive their true meaninge, my broker being then att the Laskarre of Mirza Anatola to see some of his freinds there, whoe came to us att night to our Monzull.

The 11th August 1632. Betwene Shekee Sarae and this place (Raherbuns ca Sara)[1] nothinge more then a great Tancke, called Todermulcatalo [Todar Mal *kā talāo*][2], and the continueance of our Rancks of Trees.

The 12th August 1632. In this place (Etaya [Etāwa] 7 course) sitts a Governour of a Jaggueere, whoe hath under him 1200 small Townes, this being the head, which stands upon the River of Jemina [Jamnā] that runs by Agra. Neere the river the ground is wonderfull broken and deepe, like to that of Dholpore, but not soe badd[3].

Champinge.

The Barbers of this place are much spoken of for their neatenesse in Shaveinge and artificiall Champinge[4]. The latter is a kinde of Custome used all India over, att tyme of rest especiallye, which is to have their bodies handled as wee knead in England, but this is with gripeing their hands; and soe they will goe all over a mans body as hee lyes along, *vizt.* Armes, shoulders, back, thighes, leggs, feete and hands.

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[1] Probably for Ahīrbans kā Sarā, *i.e.* Sarāī Ahīrān, or Sarāī of the Ahīrs, on the site of which the place now known as Jaswantnagar stands.

[2] Rājā Todar Mal was Akbar's finance minister.

[3] "The main portion of the town (Etāwa) is separated from the river by a strip of raviny country about half a mile in length...The town is situated amongst the ravines, which, owing to their wild and irregular forms, present a pleasing and picturesque appearance." *Gaz. N.W.P.*, VI. 436.

[4] The *O.E.D.* has two quotations for champing with the meaning of shampooing. The first is in 1698—"A kind of instrument, called, in China, a Champing Instrument. Its use is to be rub'd or roul'd over the Muscular Flesh." The other is a century later, 1782—1783: "Nor is the operation of champing...only practised after bathing." The use of this word by Mundy thus seems to be the earliest on record.

Then will they pull and winde you in such manner that they will almost make every Joint to crack, but without paine. Then will they dobb[1] you, which is thumpinge with their fists (as Children beat upon a board when they would imitate a Drumme). This they doe a long tyme together, varyinge from one tyme to an other; and this is here accompted to bee verie healthfull[2]. Also the oyle of Chambelee [*chambēlī*, jasmine] of this place is much esteemed for goodnes and Cheapnes, with which men, but especially weomen, annoynt their heads dayly, and their bodies when they wash (which is verie often); accompted also verie wholsome.

The place it selfe, exceptinge the residence of a Governour and what afore mentioned, is of litle esteeme, scarce any bazure [*bazār*], nor a good streete. What is to be had is in the Sarae half a mile from the Towne, lyeing in the high waye, There beinge a Sarae within where wee laye, from whence wee went to the Rivers side, beinge a good Course off, close to which stands a Castle on high[3].

Great Lighters.

And in the River are many great lighters [barges], such as are in Agra, from whence to this place theie transporte to and againe [to and fro], and from hence down to the River Jemina [Jamnā] into Ganges, and soe to Puttana and farther into Bengala, as also from Agra, Their Cheifest lading being salt, which is heereabouts digged out of the mountaines. They are att least 3 or 400 Tonns a peece, both ends extraordinarie high. They goe downe in short

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[1] The *O.E.D.* gives "dob" as a variant of "dab," but has no quotation with the exact meaning of the text.

[2] Compare Mandelslo's account (p. 5) of massage at Lahore. See also Terry's description, pp. 189—190.

[3] De Laët (tr. Lethbridge, p. 89) says that the fort was surrounded by a double wall. For a description of its ruins, see *Gaz. N.W.P.*, VI. 441.

tyme, but are five tymes as longe comeing back againe, being to be pull'd against the streame, although in tyme of drought; but in the tyme of raynes they sett out when the Rivers are full and Currents swifte. All the way as wee came hither, pleasant, plaine, and fruitefull, I meane of graine.

The 13th August 1632. Buckever [Bakēwar Khānpur], (7 course).

The 14th August 1632. Jannake Sara [Jānakī Sarāī][1], (9 course).

The 15th August 1632. Shecundra [Sikandra], (10 course).

The 16th August 1632. Bognee ca Sara [Bhognīpur][2], (9 course).

These 4 dayes nothinge happened more then ordinarie, *vizt.*, many feilds of Corne, Talaoes, etts. Exceptinge betwene Jannakee Sarae and Shecundra, there came into our Showbutt [*shābbat*] or Companye a prettie litle girle of about 10 yeares of age, whoe upon hard usage had runn away from her Mistres, and would goe alonge with us for meate, whether [whither, *i.e.*, wherever] wee would carry her. But wee durst not protect her, fearinge shee might have bene some slave (as most likelie), And her master after to finde her with us might alleadge wee had stolne her away, and what els hee pleased, Wee haveing att present a great charge and few frinds in theis parts (to say trueth, none at all); and soe to avoyd what daunger might ensue thereon, if wee should chaunce to light on some wicked and Covetous Governour (as they are all), wee, I say, for the aforesaid reasons, forbadd her to come neere. Yett followed

[1] The modern Sarāī Ajīt Mal, constructed in 1649 and named after its builder.

[2] Bhognīpur is said to have been founded at the end of the 16th century by Bhog Chand Kāyath. See *Gaz. N.W.P.*, VI. 204.

shee afarr of that daye and halfe the next[1]. The cause of her Mistres hard usage (as she said) was that shee conceived her husband bare affection to her.

The 17th August 1632. From Bogneeca Sarae wee came to this place (Sanka ke Sara [Shankar kī Sarāī], 6 course), but our plaine ground turned into Craggs, such as are about Dholpore, but nothing neere soe many nor soe deepe[2]. Some places were plaine but wilde and overgrowne, where wee had the sight of divers Chase, As whole heards of Antelops, Jacalls, etts., both which our doggs chased, but nothinge the neere. Also store of Fowle, As wilde duck, Pigeons, and other strange fowle unknowne in our parts. Of theis wee saw all the way, and by Domingoes[3] helpe killed some.

Two course before wee came to this place, wee passed through Chuppergutta [Chaparghatā], where is the fairest and formalest Sarae that I have yett seene, with 4 faire Towers att the 4 Corners, and 2 stately gates att comeinge in and goeing out, with a verie highe wall round about, full of Battlements, as yett all compleat. By it runs a litle River with a stone bridge over it[4]. It runns into Jemina, which was againe in sight not ½ a mile off.

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[1] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 adds—"Then sawe her noe more. Wee thought it was pittie, for that shee was likelie to perish for want of foode, or to be misused by the first Souldier or other that should light on her."

[2] Mundy is alluding to the belt of ravines which fringe the Jamnā.

[3] No other mention of this man occurs, as far as I know. He was probably a Hindu servant named Dumindo. See Streynsham Master, ed. Temple, I. 379.

[4] The *Gaz. N.W.P.*, VI. 206, and *f.n.*, alludes to a "fine bridge of five arches" at Chaparghatā, "spanning the Sengur" where the Mogul road "crosses Bhognīpur from east to west." Finch in 1611 (Purchas, ed. Maclehose, IV. 68—69), says that at "Chappergat...is one of the fairest Saraies in India, liker a goodly Castle then a Inne to lodge strangers...neere to it is a fair bridge both built by one man." De Laët, tr. Lethbridge, p. 89, also remarks "Chappergat...here there is such a splendid saray that it looks like a fortress rather then a hostelry."

A great distruction of Theeves.

From Buckever hither were above 200 Munaries [*mīnār*, pillar], with heads mortered and plaistered in, leaveinge out nothing but their verie face, some 30, some 40, some more some lesse. This was Abdula Ckauns exploit (whoe is now Governour of Puttana), by the kings Order[1]. For this way was soe pestered with Rebbells and Theeves, that there was noe passinge; soe that the Kinge sent Abdulla Ckaun, with 12,000 horse and 20,000 foote to suppresse them, whoe destroyed all their Townes, tooke all their goods, their wives and children for slaves, and the cheifest of their men, causeing their heads to bee cutt of and to be immortered as before [depicted][2].

The 18th August Anno 1632. By the waie hither (Gattumpore [Ghātampur], 6 course), wee saw Labourers with their guns, swords, and bucklers lyeing by them, whilest they ploughed the ground, being att varience with a litle Towne ½ a mile out of the way, on our right hand as wee came, whoe were Manasse or Rebells[3]. The way all plaine and past over a little river. As yett, to my remembrance, I have not seene a fountaine in all that I have gone, *Vizt.*, from Suratt to Agra, and from thence to this place. Heere wee found Taheber Raun [Tāhir Khān], a Patan [Pathān], whoe came from Nishaminabaz [Nizāmābād in Jaunpur], and was goeing to the kinge, being sent for.

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[1] 'Abdu'llah Khān Firūz-Jang, who began his service as an *ahadī* [gentleman trooper] under Akbar, was raised to the rank of a commander of 6000 by Jahāngīr. Mr Beveridge points out that Mundy is probably referring to 'Abdu'llah Khān's expedition against Erich in 1628—1629 and his slaughter of Hindus there as recorded in the *Amil Sāleh*, I. 180 f.

[2] See Illustration No. 6.

[3] The Monā (Maunā, Munhā) Rājpūts of the Mīrzapur and Benares Districts, still found about Bhadohī; evidently the same people as those Mr Beveridge tells me are referred to under the name of *malkīsa* (infidels) in the *Amil Sāleh*, *loc. cit.*

Superstition.

This day, sitting on my Cotte [*khāt*, bedstead] or bedd, five or six carters (beinge Hindoes) came to dresse there meat just to windeward of mee, soe that all the smoake drived right in my face, whereof being told three or four tymes, and they not seemeing much to regard it, I tooke upp a Tent pynn, and flung att their pott, which lighted on the fire. They presently [immediately] powred out all the meat (beinge pulse) into a Baskett, and then gave it to their Oxen; For the Hindowes, when they are abroad, have a Custome to make a Circle or signe[1] about the place where they dresse their Resoy [*rasōī*, meals], rice or victualls, into which, if a Christian, a Mogoll or any stranger doe enter or have but a hand or a foote within it, they accompt all their meat polluted. Now my hand touchinge the Pynne, the pynn the Cow dunge and fire, the fire the pott, and the pott the meate that was in it, it was all one as I had handled there meate, which is abhominable amongst them. In conclusion, I gave them soe much money to buy them more graine, or els they had fasted[2].

The 19th August 1632. This place (Corrura[3] [Korā Khās], 7 course) is the biggest and best furnished of any wee sawe since our comeinge out of Agra. Heere is a Governour, whoe hath 370 Townes in his Jaggueere; a prettie River [the Rind] with stone bridge[4], great store

[1] Compare Thévenot, Part III. p. 93. The reference is to the *chaukā*, a space approximately square (or platform where possible), smoothed out and plastered with cow-dung by a Hindu for making his fire and cooking his food. The corresponding Musalmān term is *bāwarchī khāna*, but of course the customs differ.

[2] This is interesting, as showing that Mundy was fooled, as many a European has been since his day, by an exaggerated show of caste prejudice on the part of low-caste followers and attendants.

[3] This is Tavernier's "Cherourabad." See Tavernier, ed. Ball, I. 114. In Rennell's *Bengal Atlas* it appears as "Corah-Jehenabad."

[4] Tieffenthaler, I. 235, say that a little river called "Rend," crossed by a "considerable" bridge, flows at a short distance from the fortress at "Corra."

of greene Rice in our way, whose nature is that the ground whereon it grows must be covered with water. From this place Ganges is six corse of[f] and Jemina seven.

The 20th August 1632. Wee pitched our palle [*pāl*, tent] a litle beyond the Towne (Bandukee ca Sara [Bindkī Khās], 7 course) amongst a few Trees. The way comeing out of the Last Towne for about two Course verie badd; the rancks of Trees I formerly speake of is much decayed hereabouts, being cutt downe and fallen downe, etts., and noe order for supplie in the voyd places, although hitherto they have continued in reasonable manner; here and there some wantinge.

The 21th August 1632. About two course from the last Towne, as wee passed was heard by us sundry reports, as it were of small shott. Wee could not tell what to Judge of it, some saying that the Theevish Gaware [*ganwār*, *gawār*] Townes were by the eares amonge themselves, some one thing, some another. But the trueth is wee remained in great feare all night last, beinge advised by the Towne people to looke well to our selves[1], although wee were within a stones Cast of the Towne (Fattapore [Fatehpur], 7 course [from Bindkī Khās]), for all the rest of the Townes neere adjoyninge, being ten or twelve in number, were theeves and enemies to this. All this dayes waye was even a wildernesse, nothinge but thicketts, bushes, etts., whereon wee found sondrey sorts of fruits and flowers[2], takeinge what wee liked, heere and there a plott of Tillage [cultivated ground] and some small villages. Wee past it hard to day, by reason of the deepe myry way and durtie, rany weather, haveing not had any all the way till nowe, which is very strange, it beinge now the tyme of the raynes; And as afore is said, the last night wee tooke litle Rest,

[1] Here is a marginal note—"A place of daunger."

[2] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 has a marginal note here—"A good Countrey if well manured [cultivated]."

lookeing to be assaulted, it behooved us to be watchfull and to stand to our guard.

A Strange Relique.

About Sunsett, Sunderdesse [Sundar Dās], my broaker, out of a small purse takes a little Clay and eateth it. I demaunded the reason. Hee told mee it cam off his Takoors [Thākur] feete and to be eaten in tyme of great daunger (which he apprehended to be nowe), And that if hee should chaunce to be slaine by the enemies, his soule should finde repose. It is made thus. Hee that is soe devoted takes water out of the River Jemina [Jamnā], and washeth his Takurs feete. After [he] taketh a litle earth of the said river and putteth it into the said Water wherewith he washed his feete, and stirringe it about, letts it settle, makes a lumpe of it, dryes it, caries it about him, and useth it as aforesaid[1]. Takur in their Language signifies Lord, which they give to men of common ranck many tymes. But the Takurs aforementioned are certaine auntient men dwellinge in Muttra [Mathurā], Gocall [Gokal], Bendrabon [Brindāban], etts [and other] places neere Agra[2], attributeinge to them great holynesse and yeildinge them much reverence, as also to the aforementioned places, where they say their Kisne [Krishna] was borne and brought upp, whether they repaire on pilgrimage from all parts of India, haveing lycense from the Kinge to put Governours of their owne religion, which are the said Takurs[3].

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[1] What Mundy's informant meant to convey was that he used as a charm the muddy sediment of water taken out of his sacred river, the Jamnā. With this water he had washed the feet of his religious preceptor, to whom he referred by the title of Thākur or Lord. The use of such charms is a common Hindu custom. See Campbell Oman, *Brahmans, Theists,* and *Muslims of India*, pp. 52, 315; Dubois, *People of India*, p. 64.

[2] Here is a marginal note—"Places of devotion of the Hindoes."

[3] Mundy means by this that the religious tolerance introduced by Akbar was still in continuance at this time, and that the Hindu

Kisne, they say, was borne in Muttra, Raja Cons [Kansa] beinge then Kinge of the Countrey [Muttra, Mathurā], whoe was advised by Wizards [Nārada] that his Sister [Devakī] should bring forth a sonne that should dispossesse him of kingdome and life. Whereupon hee sett strickt Watch over her. Neverthelesse shee brought forth her childe, and it was miraculouslye conveyed away from the powre of his Uncle, whoe sought his life. In processe of tyme hee grew upp, and getting to him some companions and Associatts, came upon his uncle and killed him, thereby deliveringe the Countrey from the Tirannie and oppression wherewith hee kept it under[1]. They held[2] him to be God himselfe, whoe tooke Flesh upon him to come amonge men, and Free the Countrie. Of certaine of his followers descend the said Takurs, As from certaine Khattees [Khatrī[3]] that assist[ed] him come their severall casts, 64 in number, whereof 12 are cheife and principall, the rest inferiour. This [Thākur] is the division but of one Caste, there beinge many of the said Casts, as Khattrees, Bramanes [Brāhman], Rashpootes [Rājpūt], Bacnanes [Baniyā], etts.; and every of theis againe devided as aforesaid, neither of theis eateing with other, and seldome marryeinge out of their Casts soe devided[4]. Of the said Kisne they faine [invent] a world of miraculous and rediculous Accidents and exployts, and finallie that hee disappeared from amonge them.

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administration of the shrines and holy places at Mathurā was not interfered with by the Mogul Government. This is a fact, as the persecution of the Hindus by the Musalmān rulers at Delhi and Agra ceased with Akbar and did not recommence until about 1633 under Shāh Jahān, and later under Aurangzēb.

[1] Mundy's version of the legend of the Krishna incarnation (*avatāra*) of Vishnu is substantially correct. See Barth, *Religions of India*, tr. Wood, pp. 172—174.

[2] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 has "hold."

[3] Mundy has a marginal correction here—"Khattees I say Khattrees."

[4] See Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*, pp. 534—535; Herbert, pp. 38—48; Thévenot, Part III. p. 68; Tavernier, ed. Ball, II. 181—186 for contemporary notions of the caste system.

The 22th August 1632. This daie was even such an other daies travell as yesterday, saveing the Rayne, for to daie wee had none. Wee remained hard by the Towne (Loodeę ca naguera [Lodhī kā Nagarā] 7 course), there being noe Sarae heere.

The 23th August 1632. Wee came hither (Apphoy ca Sarae [Rāmpur Aphōī], 8 course) late, by reason of the badnes of the way, beinge more then the two former full of pitts and pooles of water, whereby wee found a great deale of trouble; for ever and anon one Cart or other would be fast.

A Banjara or Tanda what it is.

In the morninge wee mett a Tanda or Banjara of Oxen[1], in number 14,000, all layden with graine, as wheat, rice, etts.; each Oxe, one with another, carryeinge 4 great Maunds, each Maund neere 16 Gallons is 112,000 bushells London measure[2]; wee haveing formerly mett many of theis Banjaraes or Tandas comeing from theis parts, all goeing for Agra, from whence it [the grain] is againe carried to other places. Theis Banjares carrie all their howsehold alonge with them, as wives and children, one Tanda consisting of many families. Their course of life is somewhat like to Carriers, continually driveinge from place to place. Their Oxen are their owne. They are

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[1] What Mundy means is that they met a *tāndā*, or camp, and a string of oxen belonging to Banjārās, a nomadic tribe of public carriers. The following extract from *Some Account of the Banjārā Class*, by N. R. Cumberlege, in *N. Indian N. and Q.*, Jan. 1895, vol. IV., No. 379, is interesting as showing how little this caste has changed in its habits:—"This gipsy tribe has three distinct divisions, representing the Brāhman, Chhatrī and Rājpūt castes...Its occupation is grain carrying...At the Dasahrā festival, they leave the *kūrī* and form a camp called a *tāndā*, which is generally broken up at the Dīwālī [festival], when the *tāndā* moves towards Dumdā in the Central Provinces or other known grain marts."

[2] For the varying values of the Indian *man*, see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Maund. The weight given by Mundy almost exactly agrees with Hawkins' estimate in 1610. See quotation, *op. cit.*

sometymes hired by Marchants, but most commonly they are the Marchants themselves, buyinge of graine where it is Cheape to be had, and carryeinge it to places where it is dearer, and from thence againe relade themselves with any thinge that will yeild benefitt in other places, as Salt, Sugar, Butter, etts. There may bee in such a Tanda 6 or 700 persons, men, weomen and Children. There Men are very lustie, there weomen hardie, whoe in occasion of fight, lay about them like men[1]. Theis people goe dispersedly, driveing their Laden Oxen before them, their Journey not above 6 or 7 miles a daye att most, and that in the Coole. When they have unladen their Oxen, they turne them a graizeinge, heere being ground enough, and noe man to forbidd them.

Paan what it is[2].

Wee also sawe some feilds of Paan [*pān*], which is a kinde of leafe much used to bee eaten in this Countrie, thus: First they take a kinde of Nutt called Saparoz [*supārī*, areca-nut], and comonly with us Bettlenutt[3], which, broken to peeces, they infold in one of the said leaves, and soe put it into their mouthes. Then take they of the said leaves, and puttinge a little slaked lyme on them, they also put into their mouthes, and after them other, untill their mouthes are reasonably filled, which they goe champinge, swalloweing downe the Juice till it be drie; then they spitt it out. It is accompted a grace to eat it up and downe the Streets and [is] used by great men. There is noe vesitt, banquett, etts. without it, with which they passe away the tyme, as with Tobaccoe in England; but this is very

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[1] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 has a marginal note—"Weomen of Service."

[2] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 adds (in Mundy's writing) "and the use of it."

[3] For *betel*, *pān*, *areca*, see Manucci, ed. Irvine, 1. 63; Della Valle, ed. Grey, 1. 36; Terry, p. 101.

wholsome, sweete in smell, and stronge in Taste. To Strangers it is most comonly given att partinge, soe that when they send for Paane, it is a signe of dispeedinge, or that it is tyme to be gon.

The 24th August 1632. Some 3 Course in our waie wee past by Khera [Karā], a populous place[1], seated on the River Ganges. In my opinion a man could not desire a pleasanter parcell of ground of that kinde, it beinge all in litle round hills about the Cittie, eache conteyninge a faire Tombe, a village or a grove of trees; soe that it made a very faire shewe, being all in prettie litle hills and dales. Hard by runns the river. A litle beyond, the ground is all in great Clefts, unpassable by Carts, soe they went 2 or 3 Course about. Khera is a Jaggueere [*jāgīr*] of 370 Townes, Governour Atmee Ckaun ['Itmād Khān]. Heere is a very great and auntient Castle. From thence wee came hither (Shawzaadpore [Shāhzādpur], 6 course), which is also on the said River, and lay in a Sarae. Round about Khera, as alsoe before wee came neere it, wee sawe and past through many groves of Mango trees Sett in Rancks by measures. The trees are very greene and faire to see to; the leafe hath a most pleasant smell and the fruite as good a Taste. Heere was a Springe of Water, the first that I have seene in India, though questionlesse there bee many thousands.

A litle without the Towne (I meane Khera) wee past by some howses, where they made Rack ['*arak*] of Mowa[2], a kinde of fruite in this Countrie. The rack was none of

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[1] "Khera" was in ruins when Tieffenthaler saw it a century later, but the "auntient castle" mentioned below existed. (Tieffenthaler, I. 233.) This fort, a Hindu structure of massive sandstone blocks, is now also in ruins. See *Dist. Gaz. United Provinces* (Allahābād), XXIII. 248.

[2] The *mahwā* (*bassia longifolia*); from the pulpy bell-shaped flower a common spirit is distilled. See also Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 143 *n.*

the best, neither could I meete with any all the way hither worth the drincking to supply my store, it being forbidden to bee made or sold on great penalties, and what is soe done is by stealth.

Here at Shawzaadpore is great store of the best paper made, and from thence sent to other parts; Also Pintadoes or chints[1]. It is finely seated on the River Ganges, a great place and populous. In some kinde it may bee compared to Constantinople, standinge on manie litle hills, which lye alongst the River side; but it wants greatnes and state. There is one streete in it above the rest that deserves notice and Commendations; For, besides that it is very longe and straight, it hath a rowe of trees on each side before the doores, whose topps meete alofte, soe that you seeme to bee in a faire longe Arbour walke[2]. Betwene the Towne and the River side, is a good plaine or Meadowe, all sowen with Rice, then a groweinge. In conclusion, it is a dainty seate.

The 25th August 1632. This morninge wee past by another Tanda of Oxen, in number 20,000 (as themselves said), laden with Sugar, of which there could not bee lesse then 50,000 English hundred weight, att $2\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. to each Oxe. The Goods lay piled on heapes, by reason of Rayne, covered with great redd palles [*pāl*, a low tent], of the which in my Judgment, there could not bee lesse then 150, which resembled a reasonable Laskarr or Campe. They were bringinge their Oxen together to Lade and away, whoe lay grazeinge all over the plaine by the river side, by which wee also went this day. By reason of some broken ground in this our waie, wee went a litle about.

[1] Mundy has the explanation "painted cloth" in the margin. Shāhzādpur was famous for its stamped cloth, but I have found no other mention of the manufacture of paper there in the 17th century.

[2] Tieffenthaler (I. 233) describes Shāhzādpur as having a long street with houses extended on each side as far as the public inn, but the "arbour walke" seems to have disappeared before his time.

Att this place (Allum Chund ca Sara [Alam Chand], 6 course) wee lay without the Towne. The Sugar aforesaid was goeinge for Agra, of which and other provisions, as Butter, Rice, &c., all the Countrie towards which wee went, as Porub[1] and Bengala, did most plentifully abound, and therewith supplied many other places. As much land as wee passed from Agra hetherto is verie plaine, fruitefull, well manured [cultivated] and Inhabited, with good accomodation for Travellers, as many faire Saraes and Tancks all the way.

The 26th August 1632. Wee came to this place (Hooredeabad[2] 8 course), past through it, and pitched betwene it and Helahabaz [Allahābād]. Hereby is the Sepulcher of Sultan Cozoo [Khusrū], eldest Sonne to Jehangueere[3]. It stands in a faire Garden[4], before whose gate is a good Sarae [Khuldābād][5]. All this day wee travelled alonge by the river [Ganges], a litle distance of.

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[1] Pūrab, properly the East generally, is commonly applied to the eastern parts of Hindustan, *i.e.*, the country east of the Ganges from Cawnpore to Bihār. The 17th century travellers appear to have thought that the word signified a special state or kingdom: "Potana, a great Citie in Purrop...Sha Selim fled into Purrop." Finch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, IV. 40, 50. "Being in Attabase [misprint for Allabase=Allahābād], the regall seate of a kingdome called Porub." Hawkins, *op. cit.*, III. 37. "The Province of Purropia... Halabasse which is a fortress in Purropia...Agra...by others seems to be called Purrop...Bengala...contains many provinces amongst which the chief are Purop." De Laët, tr. Lethbridge, pp. 88, 344, 347. "All goods which come from Pourob...pass through it [Sikandra].... From Poerob to Ziagenaert [Jagannāth] is reckoned 600 cos." Pelsart, *Commerce des Indes Orientales* (translation), pp. 2, 3.

[2] Mundy seems to mean Khuldābād Sarāī, the enclosure within which is the gateway to the Khusrū Bāgh.

[3] Khusrū, Jahāngīr's eldest son, was born in 1587 and died in 1622.

[4] The Khusrū Bāgh, laid out by Jahāngīr.

[5] This *sarāī*, which is 500 ft. square, was used as a fish and vegetable market in 1882. See Murray's *Handbook to Bengal*, p. 364.

The Sepulchers of Sultan Cozrooe, his mother and his sister.

This eveninge I went into the aforesaid Garden, where were three Mocrabaes [*makbara*][1], or Tombes, *vizt.*, of Sultan Cozoo [Khusrū], his mother and Sister, the latter yett liveinge, and the Tombe new begunn[2]. Sultan Cosrooes is only of one Copula[3], but a faire one; hee lyes on the midle of it, his hearse [tomb] standinge on a place brest high, and railed about on the Topp with wood inlayd with mother of Pearle, with a velvett Sennano [*shamiyāna*, awning] or Cannopie over it[4]. Att his head is his Turbant, and by him his Muzaffe[5] or booke of his Lawe, wherein hee was reading when they came to Murder him.

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[1] The interest in this word is that Mundy is here following the metathesis common amongst the lower orders in India, thus showing the source of his information.

[2] Khusrū's mother was the daughter of Rājā Bhagwān Dās Kachhwāhā and sister of Rājā Mān Singh. After Khusrū's birth she received the title of Shāh Begam. She poisoned herself in 1605, on account, it was said, of her grief at the behaviour of Khusrū and one of her brothers. Mr Beveridge, however, notes that there was madness in her family. Khusrū's sister was Sultān Nisār (or Sultānu-'nnissā) Begam. She died in 1646, but at her own request was buried in Akbar's tomb at Sikandra instead of in the tomb she had built for herself in the Khusrū Bāgh. See *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, p. 15 *n.* The tomb bears the date 1625, but was apparently not completed when Mundy saw it.

[3] Mundy has added a marginal note here—"or cupolo, an arched roofe round."

[4] See Bishop Heber's description of the Khusrū Bāgh and tombs, *Journey from Calcutta to Bombay*, I. 333—334; also the account in Murray's *Handbook for Bengal*, 1882, pp. 363—364; and Mr Beveridge's article *Sultān Khusrau* in the *J.R.A.S.*, XXXIX. 597—609 (1907).

[5] *Al-Mus-haf, The* Book, *i.e.*, The *Korān* (cf. "*The* Bible"). The Korān is often spoken of as *Al-Mus-haf-Sharīf*, the Noble Book (cf. the Holy Bible). Compare also Danvers, *Portuguese in India*, I. 475, "I, Adil Khān, swear by the Moçafo [Korān] to be a perpetual friend of the King of Portugal and confirm [in 1546]...the gift to his Majesty of Salsette and Bardes." I am indebted to Mr Beveridge for this identification and reference.

A Beaulee what it is.

By the garden is a faire Beaulee [*bāolī*] or Well, which goeth downe with 120 and odd stepps with faire galleries and Arches, with roomes and Chowetrees [summer houses][1] to sett in fresco [in the fresh air] withinside, all the way downe beinge spacious, easie and lightsome, Soe that a litle Child may goe downe and drinck with his hand[2]. Right over the place where the water lyes is a faire mouth of a well, from whence they drawe water with potts, Oxen, or otherwise. The best of this Kinde that I have yett seene (although they are very comon in most parts of India) is att Ibrahumavad [Ibrāhīmābād], neere to Byano [Biānā, Bayānā], some Course from Agra, not soe deepe as this, but surpassinge in Stately gates, Copulaes, Arches, Chowtrees, Galleries, stone pillars, roomes both above and belowe, a verie costly and curious peece of Worke, built by the old Queene [Nūr Mahal], the mother to Shaw Jehaan, as I take it[3].

The Story of Sultan Cozroo.

Haveinge a litle before spoken of Sultan Cozroo [Khusrū], I will add a few lines more concerninge his troublesome life and Tragicall end, as it goeth Currant by Common Report, *vizt.*

Kinge Ecbar [Akbar], Grandfather to this now raigneinge [Shāh Jahān], had three sonns, Jehangueere [Jahāngīr], Shaw Morade [Shāh Murād] and Danshaw [Shāh Dānyāl].

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[1] See *ante*, note on p. 26.

[2] This masonry well "of great depth with a flight of steps leading down to the water" was still in existence in 1882. See Murray's *Handbook for Bengal*, p. 364.

[3] Mundy is evidently alluding to the Jhālar Bāolī, two miles north of Bayānā, so called from the pillared cloisters which surround it like a fringe [*jhālar*]. The inscriptions on it still extant show that it was really built by Kāfur Sultānī in A.H. 718 = A.D. 1318. See Cunningham, *Archaeol. Survey of India*, XX. 69—70. Ibrāhīm Khān was the maternal uncle of Nūr Mahal and the district where the well stands may have temporarily borne his name.

The Two latter dyed[1], and Jehangueere, aspiringe to the Kingdome, sought to make away his father, for which purpose hee sent one into his Mohol [*mahal*, palace] to kill him, whoe, beinge found, was examined, and confessed wherefore hee came and whoe sent him. The Traitor was privilie put to death for the avoyding of Scandall, but news comeinge to Jehangueere, hee presently [immediately] fledd to Elahabaz [Allahābād], from whence, by mediation of his Grandmother [Maryam Makānī] and other Amrawes [*umarā*, nobles] that loved him, hee was recalled and againe receaved into favour[2].

It came to passe one day as king Ecbar satt out at his Jarooca [*jharokhā*, lattice], or windowe that looked into the river, with his Sonne Jehangueere and his sonns Children, *vizt.*, Cozrooe, the eldest, next Parunez [Parwīz], then Ckhorum [Khurram], and Shereare [Shahriyār], hee desired that one of Jehangueeres Elephants might fight with one of his, which was presently [immediately] put in Execution, where Jehangueeres Eliphant prevailed over his fathers and beat 2 more after him, whereat the kinge seemed discontented, takeinge it as an ill signe. And this, they say, was the occasion of the withdraweing his affection from him, Soe that Jehangueere was faine to flye againe[3]. Now it fell out, not long after, That kinge Ecbar sent for

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[1] Sultān Murād died in 1599 and Sultān Dānyāl in 1606.

[2] Mundy is here retailing the current gossip of the time regarding the rebellious conduct of Jahāngīr, as Prince Salīm, at the close of his father's reign. No clear account of the revolt has come down to us and in none of the stories have I found any reference to Jahāngīr's alleged attempt on his father's life. See Hawkins (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, III. 37; Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*, p. 519; De Laët, tr. Lethbridge, pp. 196—200; Herbert, pp. 69—72; Manucci, ed. Irvine, I. 131; Gladwin, *Hist. of Hindostan*, pp. iv.—xi.; Elliot, *Hist. of India*, VI. 98—99, 104—105, 108—109; Elphinstone, *Hist. of India*, pp. 526—529.

[3] Here again Mundy is repeating current gossip. See Gladwin, *Hist. of Hindostan*, pp. xi.—xii.; Elliot, *Hist. of India*, VI. 168—169; *Āīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, I. 467, for other versions of this elephant combat. And for a more detailed account, see Latif, *Agra*, pp. 244—245.

one Mirza Ghozzee [Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg], whoe was kinge of Tatta or Scindy [Tatta in Sind], and calling for Goalees [*golī*] or pelletts, there were 2 brought in a dish, whereof one hee [Akbar] had cawsed to be poysoned. The kinge [Akbar] takes first which by mistake was it that had the poyson, gave the other to Mirza Gozzee, whoe must not refuse to eat it, although hee were sure to die of it[1]. The King quickly found the mistake by the effects[2], and knoweing there was noe other way but death, called for Raja Manzing [Rājā Mān Singh][3], a Hindoo (then in Cheife favour), with other Amrawes, and before them all, ordeyned Cozroo, eldest sonne to Jehangueere, to Succeede him, under the tuition of Raja Manzinge. But after the death of the Kinge [in 1605], most of the Amrawes repaired to Jehangueere, as att last Raja Manzinge did the like with Cozroo, he [Khusrū] excuseinge himselfe that he was put in against his will, and that hee kept it only for him [his father], soe was admitted to live neere him [Jahāngīr][4]. But the king, upon some false information of revolt, resolved to put out his Eyes, Which Cozroo hearinge, made an

[1] The wording of this passage in the *Harl.* copy is somewhat different. It runs—"Kinge Ecbar...calling for Gaolees or pelletts (whereof one was poysoned) there were brought to him in a dish under collour of friendshipp, presented him with one of the two but by mistake gave him the good one, eatinge the other himselfe. Mirza Gozzee eate his, not dareinge to doe otherwise, although hee were sure to bee poysoned thereby."

[2] For the arguments in favour of the truth of the story that Akbar inadvertently poisoned himself, see *The Death of Akbar*, by R. P. Karkaria, in *Journal Bombay Branch R.A.S.* XXII. 197—208 and Mr Irvine's note in his ed. of Manucci, IV. 420. Mundy's version is not included in the list of authorities given by these authors.

[3] Rājā Mān Singh, son of Rājā Bhagwān Dās Kachhwāhā, one of Akbar's chief noblemen, was made governor of Bengal in 1589. He died in 1614.

[4] There is no reliable authority for the statement that Akbar acknowledged Khusrū as his successor, though probably some such story was current in Mundy's time. Herbert, p. 72, says that Mān Singh and his supporters vainly endeavoured to make "Cushroo Mogull, nominated by Ecbar as they alledged." For Khusrū's temporary elevation and Mān Singh's subsequent defection from his cause, see Elliot, *Hist. of India*, VI. 169—172.

escape, divers Amrawes adheringe to him about Lahore, where was fought a Cruell battaile, but Cozroo had the worst of it, and fledd towards Cabull, where passinge over a River, hee was betrayed by the Boateman, and in the midle of the River taken prisoner by Ahmud beag[1], Governour in those parts, and by him sent to the Kinge in irons, whoe greatly rejoyced thereat, and cawsed all those that could bee taken of his faction, some to bee hanged, others beheaded, some to be throwne to Elephants and by them to bee torne in peeces; and a great many of the cheifest to bee staked alive on both sides the high way, where the next day hee brought his sonn along with him, shewing them to him [sayinge][2], "Looke my Sonne: heere bee your freinds that attend your comeinge forth: see how they make their Salame to you" (because that, being dead, theire heads hunge downe[3]). From Lahore they came to Agra, from whence Sultan Ckhorum was sent against Decan[4], whoe desired to have the Custodye of Sultan Cozroo, whoe was delivered him, haveinge first one of his Eyes eaten out with applyeinge to it a certaine venemous hearbe[5]. Att Brampore [Burhānpur] hee had a roome

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[1] Ahmad Beg Kābulī, sometime governor of Kashmīr, who died in 1614, reported Khusrū's route to Jahāngīr, but it was Abū'l-Kāsim who effected his capture. See *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, pp. 53, 67.

[2] This word is added from the copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286.

[3] For contemporary accounts of Khusrū's rebellion, its failure, and the staking of his followers, see Finch and Hawkins (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, III. 38 and IV. 51; Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*, pp. 519—520; Terry, p. 410; Della Valle, ed. Grey, I. 56; *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, pp. 51—72; see also *Aīn Akbarī*, ed. Blochmann, I. 454—455; Elliot, *Hist. of India*, VI. 265—268, 273, 291—302; Gladwin, *Hist. of Hindostan*, pp. 3—9; Dow, *Hist. of Hindostan*, III. 7—16.

[4] Prince Khurram was twice sent against the Rājpūt troops under Malik 'Ambar in the Deccan [Dakhan], in 1612 and in 1620. It was previous to the second campaign that he obtained the custody of Khusrū, who was placed under the care of Asaf Khān. According to Roe, Khusrū was handed over to Asaf Khān in 1616. See Roe, ed. Foster, pp. 292—294.

[5] For various versions of the story of the blinding of Khusrū, see Finch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, IV. 51; Herbert, p. 74; Terry,

allowed him, a waterman, a porter and a maidservant or Hismetkeeare [*hashmatgīr*, female servant] to attend him and dresse his meate. Finallie by Sultan Ckhorum his brothers Comaund hee was made away, [the] Instruments Rozabadore [Razā Bahādur], etts., whoe comeing to his lodginge, first killed the porter for denyeing entrance, and violentlie rushed in upon him as hee was reading his Muzaffe[1], whoe first with an Aftowa [*aftāba*, ewer] slewe one of the Assailants, but beinge over layed [overpowered], was by them, with a stringe, most miserablie strangled. And this was the end of Sultan Cozroo, eldest sonne to Jehangueere[2]. Hee never used but his owne wife[3], by whome hee had a sonne called Bulakee[4]. Hee was much beloved of the people [while] liveinge, and as much lamented being dead[5]. His body was brought from Brampore to Agra[6], where of the Common sort hee was

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p. 410; Elliot, *Hist. of India*, VI. 448; *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, p. 174 *n.* Herbert's account agrees with that given by Mundy. See also Mr Beveridge's exhaustive enquiry into the matter. *Sultan Khusrau* in *J.R.A.S.*, XXXIX. 597—599.

[1] See *ante*, note on p. 100.

[2] Khusrū was officially said to have died of colic. Mr Beveridge doubts the story of the murder (see *Sultan Khusrau* in *J.R.A.S.*, XXXIX. 599—601), but Mr Foster considers the evidence for the crime too strong to be disregarded (see *English Factories*, 1622—1623, p. xxv). Besides the authorities noted by these writers, the story of the murder is related by Terry, p. 412. The murderer's name is variously given as "Reza (or Rajea Bandor)," "Raja Bandor, a notorious villain," and "Raza."

[3] Khusrū's favourite wife and the mother of his son Bulākī was the daughter of the Nawāb Khān-i-'Azim (A'zam Khān Koka).

[4] Bulākī, a pet name (*bulāk*, a nose-ring) for Dāwar Bakhsh.

[5] For the alleged popularity of Khusrū, see Roe, ed. Foster, pp. 280, 281, 283, 294; Terry, p. 411.

[6] By Jahāngīr's order, Khusrū's body, which had been buried at Burhānpur, was disinterred and ordered to be taken to Delhi; but it was subsequently reinterred beside that of his mother at Allahābād. On the 9 May, 1622, the factors at Burhānpur reported that "Sultan Cossero is taken oute of his grave," and on the 20 June, Robert Hughes at Agra wrote, "This daye is heere aryved Sultan [Khus] roues taboots [*tābūt*, coffin, bier] from Brampore, [which to-]morrowe is to bee dispeeded to H[elebass?, Allahābād] there to bee interred by his mother." *English Factories*, 1622—1623, p. 94.

honoured as a Sainte amongst them, Soe that Nooremohol, whoe alwaies hated him alive, could not endure that such honour should bee done him dead, sollicited the Kinge in such manner that he was againe removed thence to Hooredeabad or Cazrooeabad, 1 course from Ellahabaz. And on the way hither are many little gardens, with a Cottage in it, where lives a Foquere [*fakīr*] or Twoe, where is the moddell of his hearse [tomb] which they looke to, as to the garden, wateringe it, etts. Theis are the places where they reposed the Corps, as they brought it this way[1], in whose memoriall those little gardens are preferred[2]. He was put into the earth without Coffin or any great Ceremonie, like a poore private man, But att present resorted unto by much people, being honoured as a Saint as afore mentioned.

Now, as Jehangueere served his father King Ecbar [Akbar], (the same whoe wonne Guzaratt [Gujarāt], Porub[3], Bengala, etts.), soe was hee served by his Sonn Sultan Ckhorum [Khurram], after the death of Cozrooe [Khusrū]; For the king being incensed against him on some occasions (and as they say, for haveinge too secrett familiaritie with Nooremoholl [Nūr Mahal])[4], hee fledd and stood out in Rebellion to the day of the Kings death. And as King Ecbar [Akbar] gave the Kingdome to Cozrooe [Khusrū],

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[1] The only reference I have found to these shrines by contemporary writers is the following by Pelsart in 1627:—"Sultan Courserou was assassinated by his brother Sultan Cooron in the year 1621. A monument was set up at every place where his body rested at night on the way. At each of these monuments a number of fakeers established themselves and imposed on the people the belief that God had appeared to them in a dream and had ordained them to give certain exhortations to those who consulted them. By this practice they acquired large sums." Pelsart (translation), p. 18.

[2] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 has "preserved."

[3] See *ante*, note on p. 99.

[4] Mundy seems to be confusing Prince Khurram with his father, Jahāngīr, and is repeating a story current in Finch's time. See Finch (in Purchas), ed Maclehose, IV. 57.

Jehangueeres eldest Sonne, Soe Jehangueere [Jahāngīr] left it to Sultan Bulake [Bulākī], Cozrooes sonne. But Sultan Ckhorum [Khurram] haveinge now begun his way with blood, kept on the same course, and never left till hee had destroyed all others that might hinder his ambition, as Sultan Bulake, Paruarz [Parwīz], Sheriare [Shariyār], etts., and assisted by Asaph Ckaun [Asaf Khān] and Mohabutt Ckaun [Mahābat Khān], obteyned the full possession of this large dominion, whoe now raignes[1].

The 27th August 1632. In our way hither (Jussee [Jhūsī], 2 course) wee came to Ellahabaz [Allahābād], a Cittie and a Tackht [*takht*, throne, court], or place where Kinges have kepte residence and governed in them, of which are Dilly [Delhī], the first and most Auntient, Then Cabull [Kābul], Lahore, Adgemere [Ajmer], Cazmeere [Kashmīr], Agra, Futtapore [Fatehpur Sīkrī] within 12 Course thereof, This place and others. Brampore [Burhānpur] is accounted none, though it bee a great Cittie and the Kings abideinge there about two Yeares, by reason his stay was for warfare.

Heere is an excellent faire Castle, resemblinge much

[1] Here again Mundy relies for his statements on current gossip. Jahāngīr died in 1627 leaving two parties at Court, one headed by Nūr Mahal who was intriguing to secure the succession for Prince Shahriyār, the Emperor's youngest son, and the other by Asaf Khān who was acting in the interests of the rebellious Prince Khurram. In order to gain time for his candidate, Asaf Khān nominally espoused the cause of Bulākī (Dāwar Bakhsh) and put him forward, while Shariyār proclaimed himself Emperor at Lahore. Asaf Khān marched against Shariyār's forces, defeated them and captured and blinded the prince. Meanwhile Khurram, who had hastily returned from the Dakhan, was proclaimed as Shāh Jahān, and in Feb. 1628 installed as Emperor, after the massacre of Shariyār and other possible competitors to the throne. Sultan Parwīz was not among the number, as he had died in 1626. For the story that Jahāngīr had named Bulākī as his heir, see Mr Foster's note in *English Factories*, 1624—1629, p. xxiv. For accounts of Shāh Jahān's rebellion and accession, see Herbert, pp. 82—107; Dow, *Hist. of Hindostan*, III. 64—107; Gladwin, *Hist. of Hindostan*, pp. 74—78; Stewart, *Hist. of Bengal*, pp. 230—234; Elliot, *Hist. of India*, VI. 383—414. On the reported escape of Bulākī, see Manucci, ed. Irvine, I. 178 *n.*, 181.

that in Agra, though not soe great nor soe high. It is a very curious and compleate one to beholde, of redd stone. It hath many rare devices, As before the principall Gate is a Semi-circle, takeinge a great Compasse, in which are five other gates, where you must passe through (I meane one of them), before you come to the greate gate (As by this figure[1]). It hath faire battlements, adorned with a number of Copulaes [cupolas] small and greate[2]. It stands just in that poynt of land which the river Ganges and the river Jemina [Jamnā] doe make att their meeteinge together, soe that 2 sides thereof are washed with theis two rivers. Towards the waterside, Without the walls, some seaven yards from the ground, there is built in the said Castle Wall a verie faire stone gallerie for people to passe round about that part that lyes in the water[3]. The rest of the Cittie is ordinarie—Zeffe Chaun [Saif Khān] Governour, a freinde to the English in Ahmudavad [Ahmadābād] when hee was governour of that place[4].

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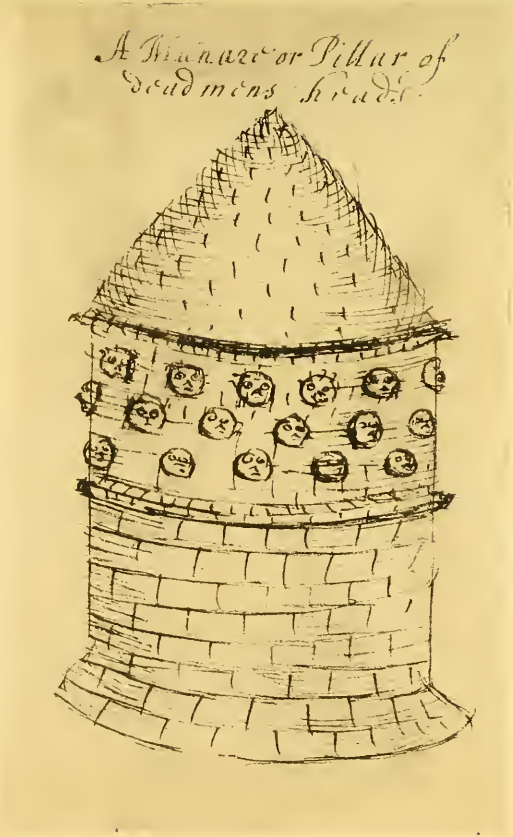
[1] See Illustration No. 7.

[2] The fort at Allahābād was built by Akbar, who changed the ancient Hindu name of the City, Prāg (Prayāg), to Illahābās, Illahābād or Allahābād, about 1572. In the early part of the 19th century it was converted into a modern English stronghold and much of its architectural beauty has been lost. See Tieffenthaler's description of the fort at Allahābād (I. 223—226) and his illustration (I. 222). He confirms Mundy's account of the "greate gate" and five others.

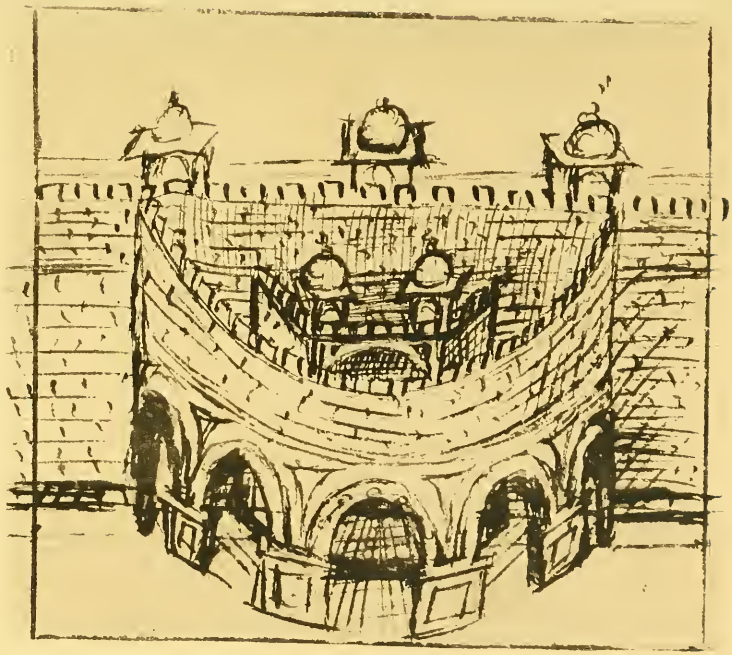
[3] Mundy is alluding to a portion of Akbar's *band* or embankment which runs along the Ganges to the fort and the ridge of the Jamnā bank.

[4] Saif Khān's original name was Mīrzā Safī. He married Malika Bānū, elder daughter of Asaf Khān and sister of Mumtāz Bānū, afterwards Tāj Mahal, wife of Prince Khurram. When the latter rebelled, Mīrzā Safī, who held office in Gujarāt, remained loyal to Jahāngīr, and defeated the rebel forces under 'Abdu'llah Khān near Sarkhej, in 1623. For this service he was rewarded with the title of Nawāb Saif Khān Jahāngīr Shāhī. He was Viceroy of Gujarāt from 1624 to 1627. On the accession of Prince Khurram as Shāh Jahān, Saif Khān was dismissed from his post and put under arrest, but was subsequently pardoned at the instance of Malika Bānū and her sister.

While in office in Gujarāt, Saif Khān showed himself friendly to the English, and in 1623 granted them a *parwāna* for freedom of trade at Surat. After his pardon, some time in the first year of Shāh



No. 6. A *MĪNĀR* OR PILLAR OF CRIMINALS' HEADS, 1632 (see p. 73)



No. 7. THE PRINCIPAL OUTER GATE OF FORT ALLAHĀBĀD IN 1632 (see p. 108)

Wee stayed untill tesserapore [*tīsrā pahar*] or three a Clock afternoone, before wee could bee fitted with boates, with which being provided, wee crost over the river Ganges, driveinge a mile downe, till wee came where Jemina enters into it, which then is called Ganges, and haveinge attained the other shore, wee hailed alongst [hauled, sailed along] by it, till wee came to be right over against [opposite] the place where wee embarked. Ganges where I sawe it broadest may bee about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile over, a good streame, how deepe I knowe not[1]. Heere wee lay close to the Rivers side.

The 28th August 1632. Wee came to this place (Barramal ca Sarae[2], 8 course) and lay att the end of the Towne. In the morneinge wee past by Zeffe Ckauns Laskarre [Saif Khān's *lashkar*], which he hath provided and is still makeinge more force, and for this occasion. About one moneth since, Mirza Ahiya, [Mīrzā Yahyā][3], Zeffe Ckauns sonne, was comeinge from Puttana, and passeinge through Ahumolco Sarae [Ahū Mahal kī Sarāī[4]], some of his followers seized on some of the Townes people, carryeinge them away prisoners, there haveinge a Robberie bene comitted thereabouts and the

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Jahān's reign, Saif Khān replaced Khān 'Alam as Governor of Bihār (or Patna). In 1632 he was transferred to Allahābād, where Mundy found him. Three years later "Scife Chaun, our ancient acquaintance and of more then common eminency" (as the English factors styled him), was re-appointed Governor of Gujarāt. In 1639 he was sent to Bengal and died there in 1640. See *English Factories*, 1622—1623, pp. xxviii.—xxxii.; 1634—1636, p. 114. For the greater part of the above note I am indebted to information supplied by Mr Beveridge.

[1] Mundy saw the Ganges in the dry season. In the rains its average breadth is $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 miles.

[2] Barā Mahal kī Sarāī. It is difficult to identify this halting place. It may be the "Sadoul Serail" (Sa'adu'llah kī Sarāī) of Tavernier, ed. Ball, I. 118, and it appears at present to be represented by a *dāk* bungalow near Saidābād.

[3] Mīrzā Yahyā was Saif Khān's eldest son. I am indebted to Mr Beveridge for this information.

[4] Mundy halted at this place on the 31st August. See *infra*, p. 115.

goods found in that Towne. Theis Prisoners they carried through Buddy [Bhadohī], a great place which hath this under it and many others[1], whoe seeinge their fellowes ledd prisoners, fell together by the Eares with Mirzaes people, soe that there were many of them slaine. To revenge that injurie is Zeffe Ckaun makeinge preparation[2]. It is said the Rebells are very stronge and will fight it out, and about 10 dayes hence the Laskar may sett forward. Yesterday in the Castle wee sawe his Comissioners [officials] entertaineinge more Souldiers, both horse and foote. And there did my owne horse rise upright, fallinge downe upon one side, which brake the bowe of the Sadle, and had putt mee to daunger, had I not freed my selfe as he was fallinge.

Passing by the Laskarr, wee sawe divers whome wee tooke to be Tumblers, but it was told us they were souldiers, and did those exercises to harden and enure themselves to Labour, for they would tugg and wrestle one with an other, tumble on the ground, beatinge and thumpinge themselves thereon in a strange manner and posture[3]. This day [the way] was even a wildernesse over growne with shrubbs.

The 29th August 1632. About a third of the way hither (Roherbuns ca Sarae, 5 course[4]), passeinge by a little Towne, wee sawe a good Company in our way (where wee must goe), armed with longe bowes and swords, all naked, except a litle Shash [*shash*, turban, turban-cloth] about their heads and a Cloth about their midle, and

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[1] Bhadohī in Mirzāpur District, N.W. Provinces. In Mundy's time it contained seven *mahals*. See *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Jarrett, II. 89.

[2] No other account of the quarrel between Saif Khān and the people of Bhadohī appears to have come down to us.

[3] Here is a marginal note—"A strange Custome" [still in use in the Native Army].

[4] Probably another *sarāī* of the Ahīr tribe (see *ante*, note on p. 86), now apparently represented by a *dāk* bungalow near Baraut.

leather girdle wherein they stuck their Arrowes, and their bowes in their hands. Theis are the sort of Gauares [*gawār*, *ganwār*, rustic, country-folk] called Manas[1] or Rebbells, whoe take Jaggatt [*jagāt*] or Custome on the way by their owne authoritie, and continue soe doeinge untill, upon Complaint, some Amrawe [amīr][2] be sent against them with an Armie, burnes their Townes, surprizes them all, whereof some are put to death and the rest made slaves, Wittnesse Abdula Ckaun[3]. Theis, I say, came into our way, demaundinge Custome. Wee told them it was Abdula Ckauns munition[4], and bad them take what they would. Soe, after much Inquisition, giveinge them a little ename [*inām*, gift], and faire words, they lett us part [depart] and passe by[5]. It seemeth they either respect him or feare him, for it is said, had wee nominated Zeffe Ckaun [Saif Khān], wee had fared worse. About 10 a Clock, wee were overtaken with a tirreble gust, for there was very much winde, aboundance of rayne, thunder and lightninge, Our Carts that tyme goeinge all the way upp to the Axletree in water, soe that what through the Noyse of the Elements overhead, and what the water made under us, with the rowlinge of the Carts, sometymes on the one side, sometymes on the other, sometymes upp over a banck, then downe againe into a pitt, with the Outcryes of Balloaches [Balūchīs][6] and Carmen round about in saveing some Carts from Overturninge and

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[1] See *ante*, note on p. 90.

[2] *Amīr*, noble=plu. *umarā*. Mundy's use of the plural here is interesting as an early instance of a common error, continued long after his time.

[3] Mundy is alluding to 'Abdu'llah Khān's exploit related previously. See *ante*, p. 90.

[4] Here used in its obsolete sense of provisions.

[5] Here are marginal notes, "They demaund Custome—Pacified with a little."

[6] Balochīs or Balūchīs, *i.e.* Baloch (Balūch) camel-drivers or servants.

haileinge [hauling] others out of some hole where they stuck fast, I takeinge one for my shelter att that tyme where their was a strange savour—I say, all theis severall occurringe together, strooke into my fantasie [struck my imagination with] the greatest resemblance of a Sea storme aboard a Shipp for its continuance that ever I had in my life on shoare[1]. It lasted not above 2 howres.

Heere [at? Baraut] wee lodged in a Sarae. Right over against us was a Leopard with certaine Hawkes, which Nohabutt Chaun [Naubat Khān], Gòvernour of Chanare [Chunār][2], sent to the Kinge. With these Leopards they take Antelopps or Deare[3], also the Leopard is taught to follow after the Oxe, Soe that the Oxe, seekinge to come amonge the wild ones, the Leopard beinge behinde him, when hee seeth his tyme, leaps forth and catcheth one of them by the Neck, which, if they can doe within 2 or 3 Leaps, well and good. If not, the Deare escapes, being too nimble for him. The ordinarie way is, the Leopard seekes by all meanes to come neere him covertlie, and then leaps forth as aforesaid[4]. They use also greyhounds, with which they hunt the Antelopp, Wilde boare, Jacall Hare, etts.; but I have not seene any blood hounds or beagles. The Antelope is also taken by one of his owne kinde Tame, about whose hornes they sett certaine Cords or lyne, whoe, comeinge into the feilds goes in amonge the

[1] Here is a marginal note—"An odd comparison."

[2] I have not succeeded in finding any other mention of this official. He was probably one of the Mussalmān *zamīndārs* (land-owners) who were settled in the various parts of Mirzāpur District after Akbar's time. See *District Gaz. of the United Prov.* (*Mirzāpur*), XXVII. 220. In *Relation* XII., Mundy calls him "Naubatt Ckaun."

[3] There seems to be an omission here. The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 has, "With these Leopards they take Antelopps sundrie waies. One is theie have an Oxe brought amongst tame Antelopps or Deare. Alsoe the Leopard &c."

[4] For contemporary accounts of the chasing of antelopes with the cheeta [*chītā*] or hunting-leopard, see Mandelslo, p. 82; Thévenot, Part III. p. 38; Bernier, ed. Constable, pp. 375—377; Fryer, ed. Crooke, I. 279—280.

wild ones, where they fall to fighting. Then is the wilde one intangled (I meane his hornes) with the Tame ones. Then comes forth those that lye in waite for the purpose and take him alive. They have also trapps and Ginns to take any other beast alive, from the Elephant to the Mouse; Alsoe Hawkes of all sorts, with which they kill Fowle, haveing many Inventions to take all sorts of them alive. As firste for water fowle.

Catching of Water Fowle.

They take them with a Calabica [*calabaça*] over their heads, which I thinck is els where described[1]. Another way is with a very longe Twigg like a fishinge rodd, at th'end of which they put Birdlyme. On their left Arme they carry a longe thinge made of bamboes, on which they plate [plait] and fasten greene bushes, leaves and grasse. And in this manner they make toward the fowle, whoe is deceived, not knoweinge well whether bushes or trees doe walke or noe. When the fowler is neere enough, hee putteth forth[2] the Topp of his Twigg right with the fowle, who can hardly perceave it comeinge foreshortned to him, and soe clapping it on him, hee is taken[3]. They alsoe kill them with Gunns, gazzees [*gazī*] and Goleles [*gulēl*, pellet-bow]; with the Two latter many tymes flyeinge.

Guzzes is a sticke like an arrowe without a head[4], which

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[1] Mundy is alluding to the method of catching waterfowl by men with earthen pots or calabash coverings over their heads; see Ovington, p. 274. Dalrymple, *Oriental Repertory*, II. 483—484 quotes an account of the process in 1791 and states that his information was corroborated by Robert Orme who "had seen the Indians in the actual operation." Mundy uses the Portuguese form of the word calabash, *calbaça*, *calabaça*. See also Johnson, *Indian Field Sports*, pp. 30—31, for a good description of this method of taking waterfowl. For this last reference I am indebted to Colonel John Biddulph.

[2] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 has "forward."

[3] See Thévenot, Part III. p. 38, for a similar account; and Mandelslo, p. 82, for catching "River-fowl" with a decoy.

[4] *Gazī*, a wooden arrow, an arrow with a wooden point.

being delivered out of the Bowe, flyes not poynt wayes, but either side wayes, or turning about, with which they many tymes hitt.

Goleles are litle bowes, out of which they shoote Clay pelletts[1], holding the pellett with the stringe betwene the fore finger and the Thumbe, lett it flie, which goes with good force, able to kill a pigeon, and [they] will shoote them soe quick one after an other that [it] is strange. With theis they compell and drive the Eliphant to Fight when they are unwillinge, pelting them about the Leggs.

The 30th August 1632. This dayes Journey ([to] Jegdees ca Sarae [Sarāī Jagdīs], 3 course) proved worse then the former, but noe rayne, although under foote all the way in a manner lay covered with water knee deepe, and some tymes more[2]. Theis three courses were very troublesome. Wee sawe a great flock of Craynes but could not make a Shott att them.

Gurgaletts—a Cahare.

This morning went by us a score of Cahares [Kahārs][3], with Coozars or Gurgaletts[4], sent also by Nohabutt Ckaun to the Kinge. Gurgaletts are curious fine, thin, earthen potts to drinck coole water with. Of theis there bee excellent good made in Chaenare [Chunār] above mentioned[5]. A Cahare is a fellow that on a peece of Bamboe (or great Caine) which lyes on his shoulder, will carry att either end

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[1] The *Harl.* copy has a marginal note here—"Shootinge at them with pelletts out of Geloles and Truncks."

[2] More than a century later Tieffenthaler (I. 239) remarked that the country between "Handia and Djagadispour" was marshy and uncultivated.

[3] The "low" caste, whose main occupation is to act as "bearers" of palanquins, etc., and domestic servants.

[4] *Kūza* or goglet (Port. *gorgoleta*), a long-necked earthen water-bottle. See Ovington, p. 295, for "kousers."

[5] Chunār is still famous for the manufacture of porous long-necked jars (*surāhī*) for holding drinking water.

thereof well ½ a Quintall [cwt.], with which hee will travell 25 or 30 miles a daye, for hee goes a kinde of an easie leaping pace, or as it were gently runninge, The Bamboe yeildinge and bendinge att every stepp, soe that they carrie more steddie then any other kinde of Invention that I knowe. They are most comonly imployed for carryeinge of Chinae, Christall, or any curious [skilfully wrought] brittle ware, Also of meat and drinck or any liquid thinge. Any Greate man when he travells hath many of theis Cahares along with him, for the purposes aforesaid.

The 31th August 1632. (Ahumohol ca Sara[1], 4 course.) This is the place from whence Zeffe Ckauns [Saif Khān's] people carried awaie the prisoners, Buddoy [Bhadohī] being 3 course off, right on our left hand. Three parts of the people are fledd from hence for feare of broyles. Wee lodged without the Towne, the way hither as bad as yesterdayes, much water.

A strange Journey.

A Cahare came along in our Companie, whoe carryed water of Treveni Sunga[2] to Setebundra Messer[3], which lyes on the Sea side in the gulfe of Bengala, 800 Course (as they say) from the place hee brings it, being of [off] the poynt

[1] Rennell, *Bengal Atlas*, calls this place, "Aoomal-serai." It is the Amwākanthā of the *Indian Atlas* (sheet 88).

[2] *Sangam* is a meeting place, confluence of rivers. Trivenī, commonly Tribenī, Tirbenī (the triple braid) is the placé at Allahābād where the Ganges, Jamnā and, popularly, the Sarasvatī (by an underground passage) meet.

[3] Mundy appears to have misunderstood his informant. The Kahār was probably carrying holy water to a Brāhman (*misar*) at "Setebundra." Mundy had evidently no idea where "Setebundra" was, and records merely what his informant stated. The only place approaching this name on the east coast of India is at the extreme south, *viz.* Rāmeshwar on Adam's Bridge between India and Ceylon, which is commonly known to the natives of India as Sītāband Rāmeshwar. See Stirling, *Orissa*, in *Asiatic Researches*, XV. 284, where it is called Setu Bund Rameswara; and Elliot, *Hist. of India*, I. 66, where the same situation is given and Set Bandhāi as the name.

of the Castle att Elahabaz [Allahābād], where Ganges and Jemina [Jamnā] meete, called Treveny [Trivenī] of 3 rivers; for a litle above, there runns one [the Sarasvatī] into Jemina, and soe both together runne into Ganges. This [man] carries it only for his [*misar*, Brāhman's] devotion (the water beinge accompted most holy) to besprinckle a certaine Image called Mahadeu[1].

An extreame Superstition.

This place of Treveny was soe much honoured in auntient tyme by the Hindoes that many of them would come by Boate just where the Two Rivers doe begin to Joyne, and there they would cawse themselves, beinge alive, to bee cutt in Two peeces, That one might fall into Ganges and the other into Jemina, by that means sacrifiseinge themselves unto them[2], such Hollynesse doe they attribute to rivers, (especially to this place), but above all to the River Ganges, of whose water if they can gett a litle into their mouthes att their giveing upp the ghost, they account those more happie and blessed. The Cuttinge of themselves was used in former tymes, now forbidden, but the other generally observed. This by Common report.

Mahadeu [Mahādev, Siva] is accounted amongst them to be the first man. The Image that they reverence hath noe other forme then a Hatters block[3]. The reason of that forme is rediculous. It is much reverenced to the Eastward of Agra, and the further eastward the more, Also in Agra it selfe, keeping great holly dayes for it, Then carryeing their

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[1] Mahādev, the name under which Siva is commonly worshipped.

[2] Mundy is alluding to a mode of suicide prescribed in the *Prayāga Māhātmya* (Guide to the Holy Places at Prāg or Allahābād). See *Gaz. N.W.P.* (Allahābād), VIII. 83.

Tieffenthaler, I. 229, has a similar story of voluntary executions by a sharp axe or saw at Benares prior to the reign of Aurangzēb, who forbade the custom.

[3] Mundy is alluding to the phallic emblem in the Pātālpurī temple at Allahābād.

Children that have the small pocks etts., to be cured by it, an infinite number of people concurringe, men, weomen and children, but especiallye weomen and children, whom theis feasts concerne most; It beinge also like our Bartholmew faire for Childish Toyes[1].

To returne to our Journey. Towards nighte came a fellow with a good Sword and buckler with some others in his Company, of whome wee were advised to beware, especially to look to our horses, for that those came as Spies[2], which made us, whoe before lay Seperated, to withdrawe ourselves and horses within the Compasse of our Carts, which wee brought into the manner of a Roundle [circle]. About 9 a Clock att night came the same fellowe with more people and demaunded Custome. Wee told him wee were Abdulla Ckauns ['Abdu'llah Khān's] People[3] and soe were the goods. Hee told us againe they cared not for Abdulla Ckaun, miscallinge him, and giveinge him vilde speeches, and bidd us tell him soe, and that he would come with his Laskarre[4]; They cared not for him nor Zeffe Chaun [Saif Khān]. 500 rupees they demanded. Great adoe and much counsellinge [consultation] for a longe tyme. Wee resolved to stand on our defence. They said if wee would not give it by faire meanes they would take it perforce, for that within 2 grees [*gharī*][5] he would bringe 1000 men, if neede were, and doe with us what they list. The night was very darke, the place as notorious, haveing

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[1] Bartholomew Fair, beginning on St Bartholomew's Day, was held in West Smithfield from 1133 till 1855. Up to 1691 it was an important function lasting a fortnight. It was then shortened to four days. See Morley, *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair*.

[2] Here is a marginal note—"Like to pay great Jaggatt."

[3] The fact that 'Abdu'llah Khān had made himself feared by his cruelties probably inspired this fiction. See *ante*, p. 90.

[4] The sense of this threat seems to be "that he might come with his *lashkar* (army) if he chose."

[5] See *Relation* XII. for Mundy's explanation of the Indian method of measuring time.

formerly taken 30 rupees per Cart of others. This part of the Countrie belonginge to Raja Seufdas [Rājā Shiv Dās][1], wee could expect noe lesse then they promised, for out of those Manas-Townes by beateinge a Drumme they would gather a great number of People in a Trice. Wee told them of their kinge. They asked whoe the kinge was, sayeing, "Tere Padshawe ca bettee Chiudiung [*tere Badshāh ke betī-chūtiān*]." The passage this way betwene Ellahabaz [Allahābād] and Bacmaroz [Benares] was att present verie badd, aswell for the aboundance of water, bad way and uneven ground as for the molestation by Rebells. Had wee gonne by waye of Johunpore [Jaunpur], a great Cittie, [a] matter of 2 dayes Journey the farther about, wee had saved both cost and trouble; but wee were informed that this way was as cleare as the other, Soe tooke it as the neerer. In conclusion[2], this great threatninge Cloud was dissolved with the payment of a matter of 14 rupees in all, our Carters takeing their oathes it was munition [provisions]; and soe wee slept that night a litle more quieter then wee expected.

The 1st September 1632. About 10 a Clock wee came to this place (Baboo Ca Sarae [Sarāī Bābū]). In this Sarae was a Thefte committed on Mirza Aheeyaes [Mīrzā Yahyā][3] people. The stollen goods was carried to Ahumoholl Ca Sarae and sold there. A Certaine Carouzee (or Renter of a place [*karorī*, a tax-gatherer, farmer of taxes]) of Mirzaes, passing through it, sawe the goods and apprehended 7 Hindoes, carryeing them with him to Buddoy [Bhadohī], where Zeffe Ckaun [Saif Khān] hath a Castle, into which they were put[4]. Upon this they fell by the Eares, wherein

[1] This man was probably one of the Mona Rājpūts, to whom Shāh Jahān granted the whole *pargana* of Bhadohī as *zamīndārs*.

[2] Here is a marginal note—"Howe wee came off."

[3] See *ante*, pp. 109—110.

[4] Here is a marginal note—"The originall of Zeffe Ckauns quarrell against Buddoy."

there were 200 of Zeffe Ckauns people slayne and 2 Mogollannees [*mughalānī*] or Moore [Muhammadan] weomen taken, whome they restored, desireing also to have back their Banians [*banyā*, trader], which being denyed them, they have beseidged the Castle, wherein they say are 2000 horsemen of Zeffe Ckauns people, and hee himselfe (as before mentioned) is makeinge forces, aswell to raise the Seidge as to revendge the wronge and affrount done to him and his Sonne.

This part is under a Raja, whoe holds it of the Kinge[1], the people Rashpootes [*rājpūts*] and Bramanes [*brāhmans*], their Townes consistinge of poore lowe howses, which on a small ocasion they fire, runninge to the woods and deserts, where they are hard to be found out[2]. Their Armes: swords and Bucklers, with extraordinary longe bowes of above 6 foote, and broad headed Cuttinge Arrowes, a people tall and stronge to see to, apparralled, as is before mentioned. They neither regard the kinge nor his lawes verie much, soe that wee travelled in some feare, for they would not beare a badd word or looke from you. Untill night wee mett with noe more, and then came some in a milder manner, whome a small matter contented.

In this place (as badd as it was) I found the best Racke ['*arak*], although it were not very good, That I have mett withall hitherto, for it did not taste of Mowa [*mahwā*]. Today woods and waters.

The 2d September 1632. Within 1 Course of Baboo ca Sarae [Sarāī Bābū], wee mett more of our last nights unwelcome ghuests[3], whoe peremptorilie demaunded Jagatt [*jagāt*, custom], beate back our Oxen, scarce sufferinge a man to expostulate. Yett soe farr wee asked them whether

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[1] See *ante*, note on p. 118.

[2] Here is a marginal note—"The Inhabitants, Townes and Armes, their Rebellions and manner of liveinge."

[3] Here is a marginal note—"More Rebells."

they were not the Kings Subjects. They quickly told us That the Countrie was theires, and that the Kinge was their Subjecte. In fine, it was mediated for a small matter. Within a Course further wee mett with others whome wee also pacified, and a fellowe that followed since the morninge as a Spie wee contented, and hee returned. Wee expected more but mett them not, there being a very faire Sarae and a Tanck now a buildinge [at Sarāī Bābū], which goes not forward by reason the Gawares [*ganwār*[1]] say the ground is theirs, soe that untill hee [the Rājā] gett a Firman [*farmān*, royal grant] from the Kinge (which hee is now about), it will not goe.

In this Sarae (Mohun Ca Sarae [Mohan Sarāī], 6 course) were Cabull Ckauns [? Qābil, Qabūl or Kābulī Khān's][2] people, who is Diwan of Puttana [*dīwān* of Patna]. They carrie from him to the Kinge some 10 or 12 Moynas [*mainā*], a Bird of Bengala, which learneth to speake very plaine, in Coulour and Forme like a blackbird, but thrice as bigge[3].

Heere wee made account wee were secure, but about Sunsett came into the said Sarae 16 or 18 Gawares [*ganwārs*], whereof 4 or 5 horsemen[4], and some of them were knowne by our people to bee of those that stood by the way, and reported in the Sarae they came of purpose to seeke for us, for on the way one of them passed by us, askinge howe farr wee went to night. Wee told him hither [Mohan Sarāī]. He replyed how wee might easely fetch Bunnaroz [Benares], 3 Course further. Also about a pore

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[1] Mundy means the Mona Rājpūts, evidently styled contemptuously by his escort as *ganwārs* or rustics.

[2] I have found no other mention of this official.

[3] The name *mainā* is applied to several birds of the starling family, all teachable and imitative. In 1620 Hughes and Parker (see *Appendix* D), sent from Patna "a cupell of pratlinge birds called mynnas." See also Thévenot, Part III. p. 68.

[4] Here is a marginal note—"Another danger."

[pahar][1], or 3 howres, in the night there was Commaund given to the Metrannees [*mihtarānī*] or Betearees [*bhathiyārī*] of the Sarae to warne their guests to looke to themselves, for that there were soe many people of Buddoy [Bhadohī] entred in.

A Firman [*farmān*] is the Title of the Kinges Letters.

A Pirwanna [*parwāna*] is the Title of an Amrawes [*amīr*] Letter.

A Diwan is an Officer of the Kinges resideinge in great Citties or Governements with the Governour thereof, whoe is to looke after the Kinges matters in that province and to advise him of all passages.

Metrannes or Betearees are certen Weomen in all Saraes[2], that looke to the litle roomes there and dresse the Servants meate, accomodateinge them with Cottes [*khāt*, bed] etts. needfull to bee had; of these some have 2, some 3 or 4 roomes a peece, for which in the morninge wee pay 1 pice or 2 pice each. They live likewise in the said Roomes with their husbands and Children. There husbands most comonly are Cahares [*kahārs*][3], Fowlers or Fishers, for the most part abroad. Sometymes it is a sport to Travellers to see them fall out about a Chipp or a peece of a pott, scowldinge and raileinge 5 or 6 howres together, Soe that when the mother is weary then the daughter riseth and takes her part, and after the daughter the husband, soe takeing Turnes, useing the most beastliest and revileinge termes they can invent, rippinge upp one anothers faults in publique; and shee that overcomes is not a litle prowd and joyfull, as the other is vexed.

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[1] See *Relation* XII. for Mundy's explanation of "gree" and "pore."

[2] *Mihtarānī*, female scavenger; *bhathiyārī*, innkeeper's wife, woman employed in a *sarāī*. Mundy's observation is not quite correct. It is the business of the *bhathiyārī* to prepare meals, but no native traveller would touch food prepared by a *mihtarānī*, who belongs to the "lowest" caste.

[3] Mundy is again wrong: Kahār is another caste altogether, of which a woman is called *kahāran*.

The 3d September [1632]. In the morninge, att our setting forth of the Sarae, wee fitted our selves in the best manner wee could for our defence, expectinge to have mett with the Buddoyns [Bhadohians], but they came not. Of all the Citties and Townes that I have seene in India, none resembles so much those of Europe as this Banaroz ([Benares[1]], 3 course) doth a distance off, by reason of the many great and high Spires that are in it, which belonge to Pagodes or Hindoo Churches. Also when wee came into it, wee found it wondrous populous, good buildings, paved streets, but narrow and Crooked[2].

The 4th September [1632]. Wee remained heere all day, by reason our Carts were embargued[3] by the Fowsdare [*faujdār*] Muddafur beag [Muzaffar Beg] to transporte Keleeche Ckauns [Kulij Khān's] weomen and howshold stuffe from Ellahabaz [Allahābād] to Multan (hee being late Governour of the former, and now appoynted to the latter)[4], hee himselfe gon before; but with a bribe wee were freed.

This place is generallie peopled with Hindoes of 3 sorts, *vizt.*, Khattrees [Khatrī], Bramanes [Brāhman] and Banians [Banyā], and resorted unto from farr, drawne hither by their superstitious reverence to the river Ganges (which runs by it), As also to divers Pagodes, Dewraes [*deurā*, temple] or Churches. The cheifest is called Cassibessuua[5]

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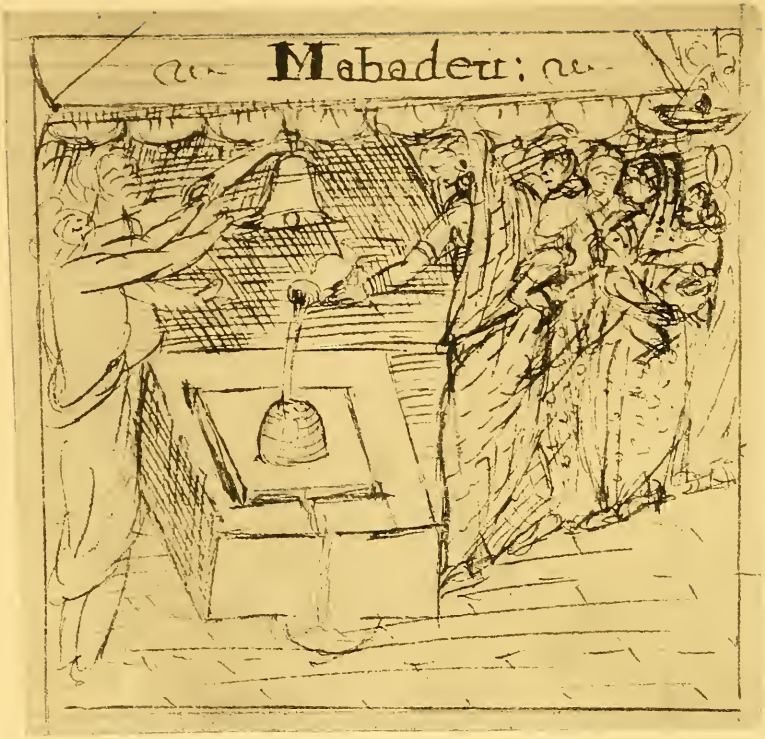
[1] Mundy's spelling is as near as the modern English to the original Banāras.

[2] See Fytche's description of "Bannaras" (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, X. 176—177. Tieffenthaler (I. 228) and Heber, *Journey from Calcutta to Bombay* (I. 282), both remarked on the narrow streets. Mundy has here a marginal note, "This place resembles Christian cities and in what."

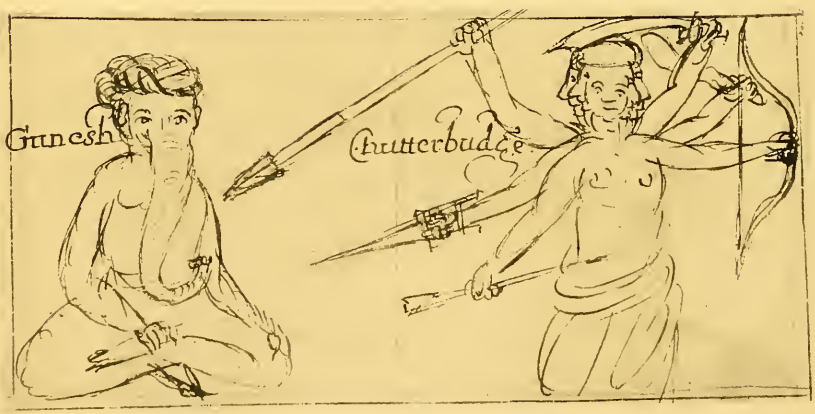
[3] Embargued, from the obsolete verb to embarge, lay under an embargo, confiscate, sequestrate. See the *O.E.D.*, *s.v.* Embarge.

[4] Mr Beveridge informs me that Mundy's statement is correct. Kulij Khān was transferred from Allāhābad to Multān in the 5th year of the reign of Shāh Jahān.

[5] Cassibesuua or Cassibesuva is Mundy's rendering of the name of the famous temple of Bisheshwar at Kāsī (Benares). This temple



No. 8. MAHADEV (SIVA)—WOMEN POURING LIBATIONS OVER A *LINGAM*



No. 9. GANESH AND CHATURBHUJ (VISHNU)

(probably by mistake for Shadbhuj, Six-armed Karttikeya, the god of war)

being of Mahadeu [Mahādev, Siva]; I went into it, where, in the midle, on a place elevated, is a stone in forme like a Hatters blocke (as before mentioned) plaine and unwrought, as per the figure[1], on which they that resort powre water of the River, flowres, rice, Butter, which heere (by reason of the heat) is most comonly Liquid, whilest the Bramane reads or sayes something which the Vulgar understands not. Over it hanges a Canopie of Silke and about it severall Lampes lighted. The meaneinge of that plaine blunte forme, as I was told by a plaine blunt fellow, was That it represented the head of Mahadeus viril member. If soe, some mistery may bee conceived why litle Children are by their mothers brought to this Saint to be cured. Perhapps conservation as well as genneration is thereby implyed[2].

Other Dewraes they have with Images which they much reverence, as of Gunesh [Ganesh] with an Eliphants Trunck instead of a Nose, of Chutterbudge [Chaturbhuj] with 6^3 faces 6^3 Armes and hands, as per the figures underneath. Also in most of their Dewraes, in the most private and cheifest place of all, is the Image of a woman sittinge Crosse legg'd, adorned with Jewells[4]. This much reverenced from Agra Westward, but Mahadew [Mahādev] for the most part heere away. Also most comonly before the

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was destroyed by Aurangzēb. For a description of the ruins and of the "Golden Temple" which replaced it, see Sherring, *Sacred City of the Hindus*, pp. 50—52.

[1] See Illustration No. 8.

[2] Here is a note in Mundy's own writing—"Sir Walter Raleigh in his historie of the World, part primo, lib. 4, saith of Jupiter Ammon supposed to bee of the forme of a bosse on a Boate etts. Whither this hath any relation or may bee Derived from thence I know not. That stood in Libia (the Said part folio 182 [fol. 153 of 1632 ed.]), as [like] this being allso of the forme of a Bosse or studde." Mundy is, of course, describing a *lingam*, the common Indian object of the phallic worship of Siva, so puzzling to the unlearned European of modern times.

[3] A mistake for 4, as also in Mundy's Illustration (No. 9).

[4] Devī in the form of Durgā.

goeing in of their Dewraes, they have the Image of a Calfe or Young Bullock [Nandi, the bull or official vehicle of Siva]. Heere in their great Pagodes were many like[1] roomes apart, with their severall Images, of which there were many that lay up and downe in sundrie places, of a reasonable handsome forme, and the best Cutt that I have yett seene in India. Others that I have heretofore mett withall were for the most part mishapen.

The Hindoes Ceremonies, Pilgrimages, strange Stories, Fained [pretended] miracles, etts. are soe many and soe various in every Province, that learge volumes would not conteyne them. I have only in breife touched some few passages thereof happening in my way[2].

The 5th September [1632]. From Bunaroz, crosseinge the river Ganges againe, wee came to Baderpore ([Bahādurpur], 1 course). The river is scarse 2[3] flight shott broad, but about 18 or 19 fathome deepe (as they say) and runneth very slowe. Wee went noe further this day, but rested in the Sarae in Company of a Mansubdare [*mansabdār*] belonginge to Abdulla Ckaun ['Abdu'llah Khān], and was travellinge towards Puttana with his howsehold and goods, his name Loote Bahadore [Lūt Bahādur]. A Monsubdare is one under another that receives a Certaine Stipend or pay of soe many Horse to serve them in the Warrs[4].

The 6th September [1632]. About Tisserapore [*tīsrā pahar*, 3.0 p.m.] wee came to this place (Seersee ca Sarai [Sarāī Sīrsī], 7 course) haveinge had some bad passages of water in many Townes and Tillage [rice-fields]; and about

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[1] The *Harl.* copy has "litle."

[2] In the *Harl.* copy this sentence runs—"Some few passages that happen in my waie I breifelie sett downe, haveinge at such tymes not much to doe."

[3] The *Harl.* copy has "3 flight."

[4] The title of *mansabdār* was applied to the semi-feudal dependents of the Mogul Emperor. The *mansabdār* of the text would seem to be of the 2nd or 3rd class, owing allegiance to Abdu'llah Khān. See Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 7—8.

some of their Townes were aboundance of Tarree [*tārī*] Trees[1], where I was in hope to have found some Tarree or drinck, haveing neither seene nor Tasted any theis manye dayes; but wee were told they nourished theis Trees cheifely for the leaves wherewith they made matts, etts.

The 7th September [1632]. We came no farther to daie by reason wee were faine [obliged] to passe over a litle River called Carmanasca [Karamnāsā] by boate, it beinge a litle too deepe for Carts to passe through without wetting the goods. Heere (Cajoora ca Sarae [Khajūrā], 3 course) on the Sand were prettie store of Muscles of those which in England wee call [cockles[2]], whereof cawseinge some to be gathered and drest, I eate of them. It seemed strange to mee to find such in a fresh water River, att least 160 or 180 miles from the Sea. Only in this they differ; ours are white and theis are black. Of this River[3] the Khattrees [Khatrī] and Banians [Banyā] have an opinion that whatsoever Pilgrimage, Almes or other merritorious workes they may have done, yett if they doe but Chaunce to wett any part of their body with the water of it, that then all what they have done is not availeable nor effectuall till they doe them over againe; soe that they are very carefull how they passe it[4].

The 8th September [1632]. To day wee had much trouble by reason That in many places there was much

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[1] Here is a marginal note—"Tarree trees, otherwise called Toddy trees." The explanation is in Mundy's own writing.

[2] There is a blank here in all three MSS.

[3] Here is a marginal note—"A pernitious River to the superstitious Hindoes."

[4] The Karamnāsā, "destroyer of religious merit," rises in the Kaimūr Hills and after a course of 146 miles joins the Ganges near Chaunsā. The stories accounting for the impurity of its waters and their effect in washing away all previous righteousness are connected with the Puranic legend of Trisanku (Satyavrata). See *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Jarrett, II. 151 *n.*; *Gaz. N.W.P.* (*Mirzāpur*), XIV. 23; Chandrasēkhara Banurji, *The Kaimūr Range* (in *J.A.S.B.*, 1877, XLVI., Pt. I. 19—20); Crooke, *Popular Religion*, I. 40—41.

tough mire, that the Oxen were scarce able to draw through, and yett it had not rayned there in a moneth; Soe that if there had fallen any store of raine, as is usuall att this tyme of the yeare, there had bene noe passage att all, or not above one Course a day att the most, all this day beinge as it were a Marish, overgrowne with a long kinde of grasse [rushes], such as in England wee make matts for bedds with or strewe in Churches as in the west Countrie. Neere our Monzull [*manzil*, halting-place] (Saunt ca Sarae [Sāwant], 4 course) wee passed over another litle River called Saunt, where wee had also Muscles [cockles] in the Sand. Theis 7 dayes wee had on our right hand prettie high, round riseing land, such as some part of England appeares to bee when a man is 5 or 6 leagues of att sea, which put mee in minde thereof.

Moreover, from Agra hitherto, the poorer sort of People that wee mett carried Quintasoles [umbrellas][1], but course [ones], being made of leaves all in generall; But from Suratt to Agra, Brampore [Burhānpur] way, I doe not remember I saw one.

Fighting of Antelopps—of Ramms.

Wee met to day many learge faire Tame Antelopps, sent by Abdulla Ckaun ['Abdu'llah Khān] to the Kinge, whoe keepes them to fight, the which [in] my opinion is but a slender sporte, For they comeinge to meete one another, hee that is strongest drives the other back. Also many keepe Ramms for the same purpose, which they holding a good distance asunder, are lett goe to encounter, and then sundred againe, and lett goe as aforesaid soe long as they please, many tymes, untill one of them falls downe, breakes a horne or runs awaie.

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[1] In the margin of the MS. "Quintasoles" is corrected by Mundy to "Quittasoles." See Bowrey, ed. Temple, pp. 85—86.

How Elephants fight—How parted.

In India are used many other fightings of beasts, as of Eliphants, wild Buffaloes etts. The fighting of Eliphants is seldome seene but where the King is, and there often used, sometymes twice a weeke, *vizt.*, Tuesdaies and Sattardaies in the afternoone att Agra[1]. The manner thus, partly as my selfe sawe, and partly by report. First the Elephants appoynted for the day, which are usually one Couple[2], other tymes there may be two and some tymes three Couple. The King cometh to the Jarooca [*jharokhā*] or windowe, that looketh into the River, upon whose strand, right before the said Windowe, being the place appoynted, they are brought; with each a guide sitting on his Neck. Att the word given they are lett goe, and soe runninge one against the other with their Truncks aloft they meete head to head[3]. There they with their Teeth lye Thrustinge and forceinge with all their strength, whoe are againe parted by their Keepers. But sometymes they will not be ruled by words. Then doe they apply fireworks on long Bamboes or staves betwene them[4], whose cracks and noyse, fire and smoake doe sever them (for they stand much in feare of it), soe lett them joyne againe; this as often as they please. Sometymes one getts the victorie by over bearing the other in strength till hee make him give way, which hee followes; and if the other bee not too light for him, overtakes and overthrowes him sometymes, then lyes over him, foyninge

[1] In Jahāngīr's time elephant fights are said to have occurred almost daily. See Purchas, *His Pilgrimage* (p. 523); Roe, ed. Foster, pp. 106, 112; Bernier, ed. Constable, p. 277.

[2] According to the *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, I. 131, each elephant had "his match appointed for fighting."

[3] Here is a marginal note—"in Achein far otherwise, fo: 129." Mundy is alluding to his description of elephant-fights at Achin, as found in *Relation* XXIII.

[4] For the parting of elephants by fireworks, see Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*, p. 529; and for a detailed description of this particular kind of cracker (*charkhī*), see *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, I. 127.

[thrusting] att him with his teeth, tramplinge and overlyeing him, for they can neither kick, bite nor Scratch. Theis fighting Eliphants are of the fairest bignesse and strongest, whose teeth are sawen off in the midle and then bound about with iron or Brasse for there more strength; for if they were left whole, they endaunger the breakeing att every encounter. Yett is there a sort called Muccan[1], of a very great body, whoe have but very litle and short Teeth, and comonly overcome the others. There Keepers or Guides are many tymes strucken of in the fight, but quickly gett up againe; but sometymes they are killed outright. Other tymes they are left to run after men on horseback, whoe are too nimble for him; for the Eliphant cannot gallop, only shoveling away hee may run somewhat faster then a man.

Also wilde Buffaloes and Bulls, other tymes Tigers and lyons [fight]: to [also] the wilde boare and the Leopard; to [also] the Antellope etts: [there are] divers others of this kinde of Sport[2]. Our pastime of Cockfightinge is not heere in use[3]; only among young men and boyes they have certen small black birds called bulbulls[4], and sometyme[s] Quailes, which make some sporte.

The 9th September 1632. Todaies travell (Ckhoja ca Sarae [Khwāja kā Sarā at Kathjū], 6 course) much resembled yesterdayes (the River excepted), having the same Marish ground with the continuance of the high land. About 9 a clock wee mett Heiderbeag [Haidar Beg], an Amraw [*amīr*] of 1500 horse, belonging to Zeffe Ckaun

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[1] *Makhan*, an elephant without tusks or a cock without spurs.

[2] For other descriptions of the fighting of animals in India, see Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*, p. 516; Bernier, ed. Constable, p. 262.

[3] Mundy is certainly in error about cockfighting, one of the oldest and most persistent pastimes in India. See Crooke, *Things Indian*, pp. 11—12; Fryer, ed. Crooke, II. 68—69 and *f.n.*; Latif, *Agra*, p. 76

[4] The *bulbul* or "Indian Nightingale," a bird belonging to the short-legged thrushes (*brachipodidae*).

[Saif Khān], unto whom he was now goeing, and came from Puttana[1].

The 10th September 1632. Wee drewe neare to the Hillie Countrey, which shewed itselfe much more rugged then formerly it appeared to bee. To day a little better manured [cultivated] then former; the way a litle dryer. Wee kept 4 Course alonge by the river. This Towne (Ckhorumauaz [Khurramābād][2], 6 course) was well supplyed with all necessaries; hard by which is a prettie litle bridge.

The 11th September 1632. About 3 howres before day wee parted from Ckhorumauaz, and neere midnight followinge wee came to this place (Souso Rame [Sāsarām], 6 course), all by reason of some Mirie passages, soe tough and deepe, especially one of about a mile longe, that had it rained (according to Custome), there had bene noe passage att all, but should have bene faine [obliged] to have layen still many dayes, untill the way were something dryed upp. This place lyes almost att the Corner of the high Land [the Kaimūr hills] before spoaken of, which is a meere wildernesse overgrowen with bushes. The Inhabitants rebells Against the Raja thereof. They say that Abdull Ckhaun ['Abdu'llah Khān] is preparinge to bringe [them][3] to obedience perforce.

Heere is a very faire Tancke[4] with a goodly Sepulcher in the middst of it, with a bridge to goe to it, all of hewen stone[5]. It is without question the formalist [most

[1] See *ante*, note on pp. 108—109, for the transfer of Saif Khān from the government of Patna to that of Allahābād.

[2] Now Jahānābad.

[3] There is a blank here in the *Rawl. MS.* The *Harl.* copy has "him," but the remark undoubtedly refers to "the Inhabitants."

[4] A lake of about 1000 ft. square.

[5] The *Harl.* copy adds here "of Sereshaw, a Patan kinge," and omits the rest of the paragraph and the following one. The passages so cut out appear in the *Harl.* copy in the account of the return journey from Patna (*Relation* XII. in the *Rawl. MS.*). The bridge, 350 ft. in length, has long since disappeared.

elaborately constructed] and largest Copula[1] in all India, or that ever I sawelswhere, although the Mosques att Constantinople have those that are verie spacious. This within the Arch conteyneth above 32 of my ordinarie stepps, and (as I finde by triall that 4 make 3 yards att least) is 24 yards and maketh 72 feete; soe much it is from side to side, a wonderfull breadth[2].

Moreover, if a man doth hollow alowde, the sound will remaine neere halfe a minute[3], or while a Temperate mans pulse may beate 30 stroaks, with a quavering, shakeinge or trembling, like unto the sound of some Bells[4], all which mee thought was very strange, haveing never heard or seene the like before. This is the monument of Sereshawe [Sher Shāh], the last Pattan [Pathān, Afghān] king whoe was driven from Dilly [Delhi] by Hamaon [Humāyūn], the father of Ecbar [Akbar], and retyring to theis parts, dyed[5], and was heere buried under a small low Tombe or Hearse, with neere 20 such other small tombes about it, all under the

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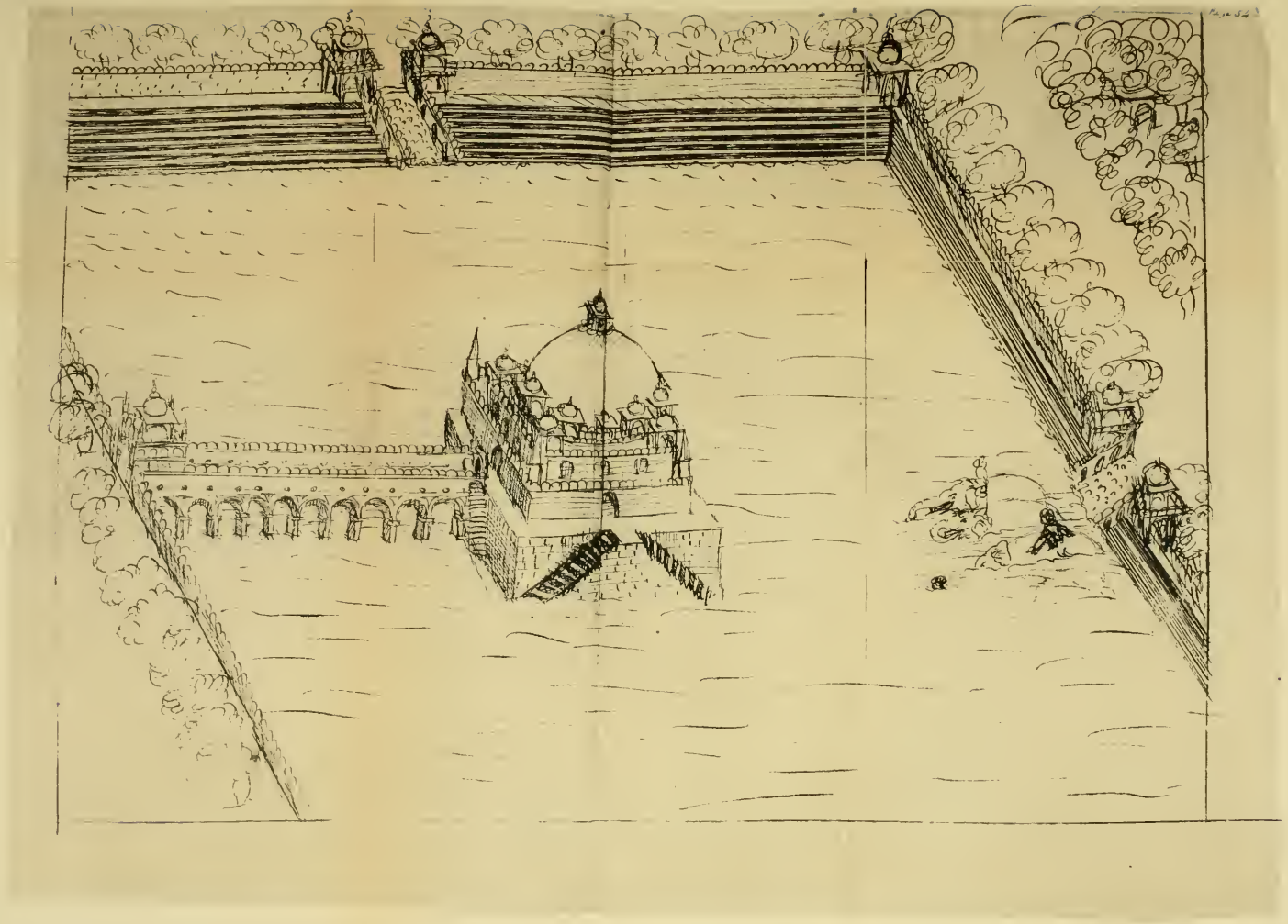
[1] Here is a marginal note—"An admirable copula or cupolae"; the last two words are in Mundy's own writing.

[2] The *Harl.* copy has "at least 48 foote from side to side, as I computated by my own stepps, whereof it conteyned 32 or 33." But the reckoning in the text is the more correct, for Cunningham gives the diameter within the dome as 71 ft. 5—7 in.

[3] Here is a marginal note—"Strange echo."

[4] The *Harl.* copy has "A man might leasurelie tell 30 while the ecchoe did resound in the roofe with a speakinge like unto the sound of some bells."

[5] Mundy is mixing up history. In 1540 Sher Shāh Sūr the Afghān, defeated the Emperor Humāyūn at Chaunsā and reigned at Delhi till 1545. He was succeeded by his son Salīm Shāh who died in 1554. The remains of both these kings were conveyed to Sāsarām and there buried. Salīm's young son Firoz was deposed and murdered almost immediately on his accession by Mubāriz Khān, who reigned for a short time as Muhammad Shāh 'Adilī. In 1555 he was defeated and dethroned by Ibrāhim Khān Sūr, who in his turn was overthrown by Ahmad Khān, a nephew of Sher Shāh. This prince assumed the title of Sikandar Shāh. A month later, in May 1555, he was defeated by Humāyūn's forces at Sarhind and took refuge in flight. Humāyūn returned to Delhi a second time and died there as the result of an accident in Jan. 1556.



No. 10. TOMB OF SHER SHÁH SÚR AT SÁSARÁM

said Copula[1]. The draught whereof, and the body of the whole Fabrick apperteyninge to it, I have endeavoured to expresse as by the figure on th' other side which I am certaine is very neere resemblinge the forme of it[2].

This Countrey was wonn from the Puttans [Pathāns][3] by Raja Mansinge [Rājā Mān Singh] for king Ecbar [Akbar][4].

Also heere is another very large Tanck, the biggest I have yett seene[5], in Compasse 3 quarters of a mile att least, fower square[6], of hewen stone, the monument of Selim Shaw [Salīm Shāh], with a spacious 4 squaire place in the midle, overgrowne With bushes, haveing had a bridge to come to it, which now is broken and fallen[7]. The earth that was taken out for the makeing thereof is Layd round about, neere halfe a flights shott from it, of an equall distance; Soe that betwene it and the Tancke is a prettie plaine that goeth round the banck without side of an exceeding hight[8].

In the said Tanck are many Aligators or Crocadiles [*magar*][9] which pray on certaine fowle which come to the midle part afore mentioned, where he lyeth Lurking on the Stepps like a logg, till hee see his tyme, then suddenly

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[1] For a description of the magnificent mausoleum at Sāsarām, erected by Sher Shāh for his own remains, see Cunningham, *Archaeol. Survey of India*, XI. 132—137.

[2] See Illustration No. 10.

[3] The spelling of this word seems to have worried Mundy. In the margin he has added "or Parthians."

[4] Mān Singh inflicted a crushing defeat on the Afghāns in 1592, but they were not finally driven from Bengal till 1611.

[5] The *Harl.* copy adds "in India."

[6] Cunningham gives the dimensions of this lake as 1250 ft. square, so Mundy does not overestimate the size.

[7] If Mundy's statement is correct, the existing bridge, of purely Hindu construction, must have been erected subsequent to his visit.

[8] For a description of the unfinished tomb of Salīm Shāh (or Islām Shāh) Sūr, son of Sher Shāh and Sultān of Delhi 1545—1554, see Cunningham, *Archaeol. Survey of India*, XI. 137—138.

[9] The *magar* (mugger) is, however, a true crocodile and not an alligator.

Catcheth at them and devoureth them. This midle part, it seemes, was ordeyned for a Garden[1], but is now abandoned and overgrowne with bushes.

These 10 or 12 dayes wee had in our waie many small Tancks, not of Stone worke, only the earth taken out and layd round about to make a receptacle for water in tyme of raine.

Mirza Munchere [Mīrzā Manūchihr] is heere Governour[2] and resides in the Castle halfe built by Muzaeffe Ckaun [Muzaffar Khān], his predecessor, whoe departed in all haste for Peeran Puttan [Pātan in Baroda State] by the Kings appoyntment, leaveing his weomen and howshold stuffe to follow him.

The 12th September 1632. Wee were glad to make a Moccame [*makām*, halt] heere (Souso Rame [Sāsarām]) to refresh our Oxen that were sore laboured with yesterdayes tugging. In the afternoone wee went to take the Ayre. First wee went to Sereshawes [Sher Shāh's] Tombe, but it was taken upp with Muzeaffe Ckauns [Muzaffar Khān's]weomen, soe there was noe admittance for that tyme ; from thence to Selimshawes [Salīm Shāh's] Tancke, and then back againe to Chundenshawes [Chandan Shāh's] Tombe, which stands on the Topp of a round Hill att the end of the high Land[3]. The ascent was very difficult and steepie. Heere was a plaine common Sepulchre. From hence wee might see some hills on one side of Puttana, 40 Course off. This Chundenshawe was a Captaine, whoe being to be married att Noone, a freinde of his chaunced att that tyme

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[1] The *Harl.* copy adds "or a Tombe."

[2] Mr Beveridge suggests that this man may be the Mīrzā Manūchihr mentioned in the *Maāsiru'l Umarā* as one of the officers made prisoner by Malik 'Ambar in 1624. It is said that he suffered a long imprisonment, but it is possible that on his release he was made Governor of Sāsarām.

[3] Here is a marginal note—"The Tombe of Chundenshaw and his story." The tomb of Hazrat Chandan Shahīd, a local saint, is at the east end of Sāsarām, on a spur of the Kaimūr range.

to be besett by his enemies and sent to him for aid, whoe that morning went to assist him with 4000 horse, and with them was hee slaine in or neere about that place. His Sepulchre is preserved, and he honoured as a Sainct amongst the Moores [Muhammadans] unto this day[1]. From that Mountainous Countrie [the Kaimūr range] come some Dyamonds, falcons, wilde beasts and not els.

The 13th September 1632. Betwene Souso Rame [Sāsarām] and this place (Sherapore [Sherpur][2], 5 course) nothinge but a meere wood with some store of great trees; But such woods and Forrests of them as are in England I have not seene as yett, in all I have gone hetherto; The way today something better.

The 14th September 1632. Wee crost over the River Soane [Son]; first a matter of ¾ Course over Sands and Shoulds [shoals], where Loaden Carts Could not passe[3], our goods being carried on Oxens backs; then by boate as much more, which was sett forward by Poles to the other side against the Streame; then ½ a Course further, over sands againe (Cavullpore[4], 2 Course). The river is very broad, but shallowe, and scattringe in bancks and Shoaldes[5]. Wee were (as they say) the first loaden Carts that past that way since the raynes beganne, which had it kept its ordinarie course, as other yeares, wee had bene heere againe

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[1] The legend of Chandan Pīr (Chandan Shahīd, Chandan Shāh), as told to Mundy, differs altogether from the usually accepted story:—"A Muhammadan saint living at Benares had his head cut off by a Hindu named Chandan, and he fled away without his head until he reached Sāsarām. Here he asked a woman for *pān*, or betel, to eat, but she replied, 'What is the use of giving you *pān* when your head is gone?' on which the holy man at once dropped down dead." Cunningham, *Archaeol. Survey of India*, XI. 133.

[2] An alternative name for Makrain. On the return journey (see *Relation* XII.) Mundy calls the place "Macraen or Sherepore."

[3] Here is a marginal note—"The straglinge River of Soane."

[4] I cannot identify this place. It seems to be now represented by Barun.

[5] For a description of the Son and the sand dunes on its banks, see *Bengal Dist. Gazetteer* (Gaya), pp. 5—7.

stopped. Wee had a little trouble to procure oxen, and in passing our goods. From hence, about 12 course off, appeares the Castle of Ruitas [Rohtās], one of the most famous of all India for height[1], bignes and strength, seated on a very high mountaine[2], That part that wee sawe beinge right upp and downe, like a steepie Cliffe on the Seashore.

The 15th September 1632. This daye I left the Carts and departed before towards Puttana [Patna] to provide a place to howse our goods. In our way ([to] Budderpore [Badrābād], 17 course) wee past Aganoore ca Sara [Aganūr], 10 Course, where our Carts made account to make their Monzull [*manzil*, stage]. Today, for the most parte, wee kept along by the River Soane, half the way woodie, the other champaine [champaign, flat]; Noe wyne to be found for any money, a straight prohibition against it, death to the partie and distruction to that howse where it shalbe found.

The 16th September 1632. Nothinge more this day then that 2 course short untill wee came to this place (Naubuttpore [Naubatpur], 12 course) I may well say wee sawe a million of Mangoe trees in plotts and groves, as well right in our way as on both hands.

The 17th September 1632. Wee came to this Cittie (Pattana, 8 course); noe wast ground all the way, but full of Mango Trees, Cocotrees, Sugar Canes, Cotten and graine; Also the ranck of trees, which wee had lost soe many dayes since, appeared now againe, 3 or 4 Course off. The Cittie hath a mount of Earth round about it, upon the which is a wall, some 4 or 5 yards high, with battlements. It lyeth alongst by the river Ganges, it beinge about halfe a mile broad hereabouts, without bancks or sholds in appearaunce[3].

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[1] Mundy attempted a closer inspection of Rohtāsgarh on the return journey. See *Relation* XII.

[2] A spur of the Kaimūr hills.

[3] For a description and history of "The City of Patna," see Mr Beveridge's article (*Calcutta Review*, vol. LXXVI. pp. 211—233).

The 14th November 1632. Haveinge accomplished my business[1], I crossed over the River ([to] Hageepore Puttana, 4 course[2]), and about 3 mile further wee went on sand and oaze, the river being now retired, but in tyme of rayne it is over flowen to the very Towne. This place[3] is verye auntient [and nominated but now decayed][4], and in former tymes much resorted unto as cheife place in theis parts, all the Traffique [which was then in former tymes][4] now reduced to Puttana which hath bene built and Inhabited but of late[5]. Att the westerne side, close by the Towne, issues out a great river into Ganges, called Gunducke [Gandak]. Unto this place (as farr as I could heere) never yet arrived any English, Although about 12 yeres since there were att Puttana Mr Hughes and Mr Parker[6], now both dead,

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[1] The events of Mundy's two months' stay in Patna are recounted in *Relations* X. and XI.

[2] Hājīpur, on the northern bank of the Ganges, said to have been founded in the 14th century by Hājī Ilyās. Mundy has here a marginal note—"Hajeepore Puttana, my *non plus ultra*." In a letter from Surat to Agra in January 1620, the place appears as "Hogrepore-patamia" (*English Factories*, 1618—1621, p. 182).

[3] The copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 has a marginal note—"The antient place of trade before Pattana was."

[4] These words are added from the *Harl.* copy.

[5] Mundy is referring to the foundation of the present city of Patna by Sher Shāh in 1541.

[6] Robert Hughes was admitted factor in Nov. 1614. He arrived at Surat in 1615, was at Ajmer in 1616 and was sent to Agra in 1617. From 1620—1621 he was at Patna, and on his return to Agra took up the post of Chief of that factory, to which he had been appointed early in 1621. In the following year he was imprisoned on account of the seizure by the English of goods belonging to merchants in Sind. On his release, he made arrangements for closing down the factory at Agra, according to orders from Surat, but apparently died, in the autumn of 1622, on the eve of his departure. His death is noted early in 1623.

John Parker was appointed fourth at Agra in 1619. In the same year he desired leave to return to England, but instead was sent to Patna as assistant to Hughes. He returned to Agra as accountant, was imprisoned with Hughes in the following year, left Agra in June 1622, and was appointed chief at Ahmadābād early in 1623. But he had "long lain ill of a languishing disease," and apparently died before he could reach Surat. His effects were claimed by his mother in 1624. See *Letters Received*, 1617; Roe, ed. Foster, p. 212; *English Factories*, 1618—1623; *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1622—24.

whoe came to see the state of this Countrie, and to settle some Trade heere, but in shorte tyme after they returned back againe to Agra[1].

From beyond this place to the Eastward are hither brought certen small horses, called Goonts [*gūnth*] or Tangans [*tāṅghan*][2], which are of the same repute heere in India as our Cornish Naggs are with us in England, and have neere the same forme and Conditions, full of mettall, hard bredd and of great endurance. Hence wee returned to Puttana.

The 15th November 1632. Wee went to Bendrabun [Brindāban] (3 course). By this place in a litle grove of Trees are about 100 Monkies, little and great, whoe have a certaine allowance yereley to maineteyne them, besides what straungers give them, for they are halfe Tame and will come neere for graine or sweete meats, but not suffer themselves to bee taken. Here they live and breed and drinck out of the River Ganges that runneth by them. There are sundrie of theis places in India, but that neere Muttra by Agra is the chiefest, Where are said to bee 10000 of them, whoe have certaine allowance of provision and graine every day. This is also the superstitious observation of the Hindoes[3].

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[1] For copies of the original documents giving an account of the first English commercial mission to Patna in 1620—1621, see Appendix D. And see also Pelsart, p. 3, for the transitory settlement of an English factory there and the cause of its abandonment.

[2] "In the northernmost district of Hindustan, a kind of small but strong horses is bred, which are called *gut*; and in the confines of Bengal, near Kuch[-Bahar], another kind of horses occurs, which rank between the *gut* and Turkish horses and are called *tāṅghan*: they are strong and powerful." *Āīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, I. 133. This animal, the strong little pony of Bhutān and Tibet, reads like a description of the breed now famous all over Burma as Shān ponies.

[3] Brindāban, vulg. Bindraban, means a grove or forest of the sacred *tulsī* shrubs, the most celebrated being that at Gokul, near Muttra. Mundy seems to have been taken to a Hindu shrine near Patna, situated in a grove of the sacred *tulsī* shrubs, where a quantity of monkeys was kept by some *gosāin* or other Hindu ascetic. This

This Eveninge wee returned to Puttana (3 course), and fitted our selves for our departure thence.

From Agra hither wee find by the Calculation of our perticuler Journies to bee but 253 Course, though usuallie accompted 300, by reason of the extraordinary trouble and hindrance there is in passing rivers in the waye.

	Miles
253 Course from Agra to Puttana att 1½ Mile is	379½
8 Course from Puttana to Hadgeepore-Puttana and back againe is	12
6 Course from Puttana to Bendrabun and back	9
267[1] Course of India makes English miles[2]	400½

grove was probably that of Mān Singh-kā-Bāgh in the village of Akbarpur, near the old junction of the Gandak and Ganges. See *Archaeol. Survey Reports*, vol. XVI. *s.v.* Hājīpur.

[1] Roe, ed. Foster, p. 541, makes the distance from Agra to "Hhagipurpatna 300 courses, about 680 miles," a great exaggeration, while Mundy's estimate is considerably less than the actual distance, which is really, following the route he describes, about 550 miles.

[2] Here the copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 adds—"Thus much since our departure from Agra till our Arrivall in Puttana, and untill the tyme that wee were ready to leave the same againe." Then, with no break, the *Harl.* copy goes on to a "Discription of Puttana," which is part of *Relation* XI. in the *Rawl. MS.*

RELATION IX[1].

REASONS ALLEDGED BY PETER MUNDY, BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE AGRA, THAT THE SENDINGE HIM FOR PUTTANA WITH THE COMPANIES GOODS MAY NOT ONLY PROVE TO THEIR LOSSE BUT IS PLAINLY AGAINST THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCELLS INTENT AND MEANING.

Although my Principalls authoritie and ground for the doeinge thereof bee sufficient enough, yett I crave his leave and pardon if I sett downe my owne opinion thereon.

Mr Fremlins Reasons for its prosecution, *vizt.*

1. That by sending away some part of the Quicksilver etts. nowe lyeinge dead in the Companies howse in Agra[2] it may cawse the price of the residue to rise, the quantitie beinge deminished, which hee had an intent to have done

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[1] In the copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286, *Relations* IX. and X. are given as one (numbered X.), the headline of the first part being "The Imployment for Puttana its present Trade and future hopes" and of the last part "The Imployment for Puttana." The opening words are—"These following lines doe shew Peter Mundy his opinion that the sending him to Puttana with the Companies goods may not only prove to theyre losse, but is alsoe against the intent and meaninge of the President and Counsell at Surat." Then follows "Mr Fremlen's Reasons for its prosecution," &c.

[2] The expectation of the President and Council at Surat that the consignment of quicksilver and vermilion sent to Agra under Leachland's care would sell at a profit had apparently not been realized. See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 81.

longe before order came, being encouraged thereunto by Nurhar [Narhar], Virgee Voraes [Vīrjī Vōrā's][1] vaqueil [*vakīl*] or Factor, and others whoe certefied him that Quicksilver and Vermillion were worth in Puttana 4 and 4½ rupees per Seere.

2. That in a letter[2] from the Worshipfull Joseph Hopkinson etts. the President and Counsell in Suratt[3], hee had expresse order to send me thither to make an Investment in Lynnen, for which reasons hee put it in execution.

The Answere to the aforesaid Reasons, *vizt.*

To the first. I graunte that the diminishinge of the quantitie (in convenient tyme and place) may exhaust the price of the remainder but [it is] to be considered that the parcell soe sent away may not raise a dammage on the rest, as I am afraid this will, for the reasons, *vizt.*

(1). Hee had noe perticuler advise from thence to

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[1] Vīrjī Vōrā was a wealthy merchant at Surat, with whom the English had dealings as early as 1619. He is alluded to (1625) as "a prime merchant of this town," (1628) "the greatest banian merchant," (1630) "our old and accustomed merchant," (1634) "the greatest and richest general merchant that inhabiteth this vast kingdome." He was the Company's largest creditor in Surat and employed agents or *vakīls* in Agra, Burhānpur, Ahmadābād, &c. (See *English Factories*, 1618—1645). In 1643 the Court of Committees sent from England an "iron chest from Nuremberg as a present to Vīrjī Vōrā" (*Court Minutes*, 1640—1643, p. 309). Thévenot, Part III. p. 15, mentions Vīrjī Vōra as late as 1666—"There are People vastly rich in Surat, and a Banian a Friend of mine, called Vargivora, is reckoned to be worth at least eight Millions."

[2] This letter is not extant.

[3] Joseph Hopkinson was entertained by the Court as a factor for seven years in February 1619. He was made Warehousekeeper at Surat in 1620 and later in the year was both "Register" and member of Council. In 1623 he played a prominent part in the settlement of English claims at Surat and obtained the post of Accountant. He outstayed his agreement and did not return to England till 1629. In the following year he returned to India and again took his place among the Council at Surat. In December 1631 he was elected President on account of his "long experience and approved sufficience." His death, in 1633, is recorded by Mundy in *Relation* XVI. See *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1618—1623; *English Factories*, 1618—1634.

himselfe nor certen relation from others what the said Commoditie might bee worth there, soe that he resolved, on uncertaine grounds, to send a good pertido[1] to a farr place with a great deale of charge, daunger and trouble, with the losse of five or six monethes tyme to one of the Companies Servants imployed soe.

(2). It cannot otherwise be presupposed but those Hindoes in Agra whoe are the Merchants of that Commoditie as Bugwonti Das [Bhagwantī Dās] etts., whoe were in hand for [dealing with] it, theis men, I say, if soe bee they had bought it, would send thereof to all parts hereabouts, and some to this, att an easier charge then wee can doe, and are as willinge to gett as ourselves; And now, seinge this place supplyed, will not give that price which otherwise they intended.

(3). Putt the case it were certaine that Quicksilver etts. beare such a price: yett all men knowe that it is a Common custome that when there is a scarcetie of any Commoditie the price keepes high, but when there comes any quantitie, it presently [immediately] falls. As for example in Agra, when spices were scarce, Cloves were worth 650 and 700 rupees per Maund; but presently att [immediately on] the arrivall of those sent by the Dutch they fell one halfe in the price. Alsoe Quicksilver, before this arrived, was worth rupees $4\frac{1}{4}$ and $4\frac{1}{2}$ per sere, and now they doe not offer but rupees $2\frac{3}{4}$; the same decorum [condition] is expected to bee in other parts. So much for answere of the first.

2. Now to the Second, that hee was enordered from Suratt to doe what hee did. But this was the effect of it, That if in Puttana there were to be had Deriabads, Ckhaireabads, Semianos and Ambertrees[2] etts. Course Cloth,

[1] Ital. *partito*, a bargain, investment; Port. *partida*, a parcel.

[2] The first two kinds of piece-goods were white cotton cloth from Daryābād in Bārā Bānkī district and Khairābād in Sītāpur district. See *English Factories*, 1634—1636, p. 146 *n*.

Semianos or *samāna* was a fine cloth made at Samāna, and must

And that the Investment might be finished by the end of September, and then, if it were thought fittinge (upon good deliberation), hee might enorder Peter Mundy for that Imployment, Soe that hee might have tyme to returne to make himselfe ready to come away with the first Caphila [*kāfila*, caravan], which would proceede presently [immediately] after the raines. That the Presidents etts. order was misconceived appeares thus:

1. By enquirie made, it was found that in Puttana there is noe other sort of Cloth fittinge their demaunds but one named Ambartrees.

2. By computatinge the tyme from the date of their letter in Suratt to the fine [end] of September is about 100 dayes att the most, whereout deductinge 25 it was on the way, 10 or 15 dayes to procure carriage and to provide all things necessary for accommodation of the goods etts., Then the tyme of our travell thither (and att this tyme of the yeare as those say that knowe best require[s] 45 dayes or 40 att the least and soe much back againe heere) is more then our lymited dayes alreadie expired, and none allowed for our stay there to putt off the goods and to invest and dispose of its proceed. Soe that there is a mistake somewhere, either by Puttana meaninge some other place, as Dheriabad [Daryābād], Ckhaireabad [Khairābād] or other neer Agra.

To shutt upp theis fewe lines (beinge so much alleadged before my departure from Agra) I doe verilie conceive and

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not be confused with *shamiyāna*, coarse cloth used for awnings. See Mr Foster's note in *English Factories*, 1618—1621, p. xxi.

Ambertees or Ambartrees (Hindi, *amritī*, *imratī*, *amirtī*, *imartī*) is the name of a cloth in N. India, and is also used for derivatives from Skr. *amrita* in the sense of anything sweet. Assuming the Hindī form to derive from *amritaka*, or its like, such modern forms as *ambatī*, *ambatrī* (amberti, umbertee, ambertree) would not be unlikely. This kind of cloth was stouter than the preceding varieties. In 1619 the factors at Agra wrote to the company—"The narrow cloth called amberti callicoes...is stronge, close-made and well conditioned, and hath noe fault but the narrownes." *English Factories*, 1618—1621, p. 161.

dare boldly say that if the president etts. in Suratt had notice that there was but one sort of Cloth to be found there (and that scarce), Alsoe that it would require 5 monethes tyme att least, with extraordinarie Costs and daunger, And that the said Cloth might be found in Agra (I am perswaded) much cheaper then it will issue unto us, I say if they had knowne all this (as Mr Fremlen did very well), they would never haven[1] enordered nor mentioned the said Imployment.

The foregoeing Relation by order should have bene sett before our comeing from Agra, but was omitted, and is here joyned to the issue of that business which imedeatly followes on th'other side[2].

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[1] An old form of the infinitive, obsolete even in Mundy's day.

[2] Instead of this paragraph, the copy in *Harl. MS.* 2286 has—"The former Reasons doe shew my opinion onely before the Imployment was sett on foote. What followes will declare the severall passages of the Imployment it selfe, *Vizt.*" Then follows *Relation* X. without any break.

RELATION X.

THE PROCEEDINGE AND ISSUE OF THE IMPLOYMENT FOR PUTTANA, AS FOLLOWETH:

6th August 1632. I departed from Agra and came to Nooremoholl cacotora[1], where were 8 Carts Laden with Quicksilver, vermillion, etts., delivered to my Charge.

8th August 1632. Wee went from thence, and in 19 dayes [*i.e.* on the 27th August], wee came to Ellahabaz [Allahābād], nothinge happeninge extraordinarie, faire weather and faire waye. I had neither letter nor present to appeare withall unto Zeffe Ckaun [Saif Khān], Governour thereof, a freind to the English[2], neither to Abdulla Ckaun ['Abdu'llah Khān] in Puttana, it beinge the Custome of the Countrie not to come before them emptie handed, especiallie if wee had neede of them. There [Allahābād] with some trouble wee crost the River Ganges, till wee came among the Rebells, where with much adoe wee were cleired, as in the Journall The 29th and last of August[3], Many tymes with great Labour, scarce able to goe forward above 3 or 4 Course in a day, by Reason of mire and Dirt, it being tyme of Raines, although it had held upp drie weather long

[1] "Cacotora" appears to be a copyist's error, passed over by Mundy, for *chabūtrā*, the whole expression meaning Nūr Mahal's market, no doubt attached to the *sarāī* named after her. See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 78.

[2] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII., note on p. 108.

[3] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII., under the dates named.

tyme, which had they fallen as accustomed, wee had not passed untill they had bene over and the ways drie. Haveinge Crossed sundrie Rivers in the way, unladinge and reladeinge our goods, sometimes in feare of Theeves, however (God bee praised), with a great deale of difficultie, danger and cost, with 44 dayes travell, wee arrived att Puttana (20th[1] September [1632])[2], not meeting all the way one Laden Carte either goeing or comeing from thence, it being not then the tyme of Travell for Laden Carts (But why then did our Carts undertake it?), because they come to Puttana to gett a fraught [freight], where they are sure to finde it after the raines, It not importinge them anythinge att all the stayinge of 20 or 30 dayes extraordinarie.

Heere wee found not Zeffe Ckaun [Saif Khān] nor the Governour that was in Mr Hewes [Hughes] and Mr Parkers tyme[3], but Abdulla Ckaun, the most covetous and cruell Tirant that ever came to this place, whoe, notwithstandinge that in former tymes (when hee fledd from Zeffe Ckaun from Ahmudavad) the President of Suratt supplyed and presented him with sundrie horses[4] (whereof his servants

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[1] An error for 17th September. See *Relation* VIII. p. 134.

[2] Hughes only occupied 29 days on the journey. He left Agra on the 5th June, 1620, and reached Patna on the 3rd July following, but he notes that carts perform the journey in about 35 days. See Appendix D.

[3] For Saif Khān, see *ante*, *Relation* VIII., note on p. 108. The "Governour" here referred to was the Nawāb Mukarrab Khān, Sūbadār of Bihār.

[4] 'Abdu'llah Khān, for whom see *ante*, *Relation* VIII. pp. 90, 111, deserted from the Imperial army and espoused the cause of Prince Khurram when the latter rebelled against his father, Jahāngīr. In 1623, 'Abdu'llah Khān, in command of the rebel forces, was defeated by Safi (afterwards Saif) Khān, near Sarkhej. 'Abdu'llah Khān fled to Surat and thence to Burhānpur. There is no actual record of assistance rendered to him by the English, but Mundy is probably right in his statement, for, in a letter from Broach to President Rastell on the 17th June, 1623 (*English Factories*, 1622—1623, p. 242), there is the remark, "If the Kings people should not follow after Abdela Caun and that he should remaine here these raynes it would not bee amisse to give him some presente, that wee might not be troubled with him nor his."

could tell mee), hee extorted from mee ([the] 24th [September, 1632]) rupees 314½ for Custome, besides 40 or 50 more in bribes to his Officers, thincking hee did mee a great courtesie to remitt the one halfe that other men paid and was due.

25*th* [*September* 1632]. I dispatched the Carters and Balloaches [Balūchīs][1].

26*th* [*September* 1632]. I sett Brokers to seeke out for Course Ambertrees.

27*th* [*September* 1632]. They brought 20 or 30 peeces, but none soe lowe prized as required.

28*th* [*September* 1632]. Wee viewed the said Cloth and returned it to their Owners, there being not one peece amongst them [fit] for our turnes [requirements].

29*th September* [1632]. Wee sawe noe more Brokers nor Cloth, soe sent 2 Messengers to Lachore[2] (a place 12 course off, where is much cloth made and brought hither) to enquire what quantitie might bee procured thereabouts, whome wee expected in 4 dayes. It may bee alleadged that other Merchants make greate Investments here, and whie might not I? It is graunted; but theie are such whoe have used this trade a long time, goe gatheringe of it by litle and litle from towne to Towne, knowe its valewe and where to finde it, soe that in 5 or 6 monethes they may procure 40 or 50 Corge [*korī*, score (of pieces)], or perhaps 100[3]. But wee were sent as though wee should finde heere readye what wee wanted, els how could it possiblie be performed in soe short tyme as lymitted? But now it is soe fallen out that wee must seeke out this Trade, enquireinge

[1] Mundy refers to his Balūchī camel-drivers. See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 111.

[2] Lakhāwar, 30 miles south of Patna. "The amberty callicoes are made a dayes journeye from this place [Patna] in a prigonye [*pargana*] or shier called Lackhower" (*English Factories*, 1618—1621, p. 213).

[3] See Hughes and Parker's report (in Appendix D) as to the amount of cloth to be obtained in Patna in three or four months.

where it is to bee had, and goe gatheringe in what wee can procure by the tyme [fixed], that greater losse doe not accrew to our honourable Imployers by our longer stay heere then benefitt can be expected by our Investment.

5*th October* [1632]. One of our Messengers returned, bringing with him Gongarum [Gangā Rām], the Cheifest Broker in theis parts for Corse linnen, whoe told us for our encouragement that after wee had sett the businesse on foote, the Countrie knoweinge our intent, there might bee invested 2 or 3000 rupees a Moneth; but before that would bee effected, it would require 40 or 50 dayes, I meane before wee should receive the Cloth ready Merchantable [for sale], It requireinge above a moneth for the whiteninge; soe that heere is an Impossibilitie to performe anything this way (by reason I am enordered to make an end and repaire to Agra to bee there by the middle of January next to accompanie the latter Caphila[1], which would then bee ready to depart), only [except] to carry some Musters [samples] with mee to shewe what sorts of Cloth this Countrie affoards.

Concerninge the putting off of the Quicksilver etts. You have alreadye heard when it arrived. Some few dayes passed in howseinge and accomodatinge ourselves; then followed Diwallee feast of the Hindooes, which lasted 7 or 8 dayes, in which tyme they doe seldome doe anythinge in Merchandizeinge[2]. Moreover, consideringe the rate Mr Fremlen setts downe in his instructions[3] or Remembraunce [memorandum] and the meane [low] price wee are

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[1] Mundy means the last *kāfila* of the season, conveying goods for the ships bound for England.

[2] Dīwālī, an autumnal feast in honour of various divinities, held on the last two days of the dark half of the month Asan and on the new moon and four following days of Kartik, *i.e.* some time in October. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Dewally; *N. Indian Notes and Queries*, 1892, No. 479, p. 128.

[3] These instructions are not extant.

like to finde heere, I on the way sent a man of purpose the 7th of the last moneth, whoe promised to be with mee in Puttana in 25 dayes, desireing his advise how it was worth in Agra, and the lowest price I might heere sell[1]. For the aforesaid reasons, as also to trye the markett, I kept it upp a few daies, but seeing the price to fall in the Bazare dayly, rumour of more comeing on the way hither, noe advice from Mr Fremlen as yett, I resolved to put it offe as soone as possible I could to the Companies most advantage. For the effectinge of which wee made choyce of one Chowdree Foqueera [Chaudharī Fakīrā][2], whoe after Diwally came to us, sayeing hee had provided for us merchants [merchants for us]. Wee desired him to bringe them, but they came not neere us in many dayes, and noebody els soe able to performe that businesse as hee. In fine, hee brought with him some fewe Pasaares [*pasārī*] or shoppkeepers, whoe amongst them all would not take above 4 or 5 Maunds, and that but att rupees $3\frac{3}{4}$ per sere of the Quicksilver, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ for Vermillion, unto which price wee had bin longe beateinge them. But seeinge they would take but a small parcell, I refused there motion, for by venting this small pertido [parcel], I might therewith have soe filled the markett That I might have kept the rest long enough. A Marchant for the whole cannot be found for such a quantitie, there seldome comeinge above 5 or 6 Maunds, in a yeare to this place.

There are 3 badd wayes open to mee; the first to Carry it back; the second to lett it lye heere and there [in

[1] Mundy means that from Khajūrā (10 days' caravan march from Patna), where he was on the 7th September, he sent a man back to Agra. The messenger promised to be with him in Patna in 25 days, *i.e.* 15 days after Mundy himself would have arrived. The man would travel by himself much faster than the caravan.

[2] What Mundy means by this is that he chose a *chaudharī*, or head-man of traders, named Fakīrā, to act as middleman between him and the traders. This is a common custom among the lower castes in N. India, and shows that Mundy was dealing directly with small men in his trading.

various places]; And the third to sell it att the price Currant. To carry it back would incurr a great deale of daunger[1], and more Charge, for wee heare that those of Buddoy [Bhadohī][2] doe robb and kill both Merchants and Pattamares[3]. To lett it lye here hath many inconveniences: First, daunger, This place haveing a very bad Governour, and [being] out of the way; Next a greate deale of Charge for warehowse-roome, people to looke to it etts.; Thirdly, uncertainety of sale, and the Companies being out of soe much meanes for soe longe tyme. Of the third and last way I have made choyce for theis respects [reasons], *vizt.*

1. I have expresse order to sell att what rate soever I can gett (which came some dayes since by one I sent of purpose)[4], which [orders] were enough, although att losse.

2. There wilbe so much money advanced towards the Indico Investment, of which there is enordered this yeare an extraordinary quantitie to be provided[5].

3. My repaire to Agra is requisite suddainely [immediately], as well to goe downe with the latter Caphila as to give an Accompte for what I have done in this businesse, Tyme draweinge on apace.

4. Lastly, the price falleth dayly in the Bazare, which att my first cominge was att rupees $4\frac{3}{8}$ per Sere [for] Quicksilver, and rupees $4\frac{5}{8}$ [for] vermillion, and dayly newes of more come and Comeinge on the way, all daunted with [discouraged by] the quantitie, Noe freind nor acquaintance,

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[1] The *Harl.* copy has "further danger."

[2] For the disturbed state of the neighbourhood of Bhadohī, see *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 110.

[3] *Pathmār*, a foot-runner, courier.

[4] The messenger alluded to, *ante*, p. 147. He was due by promise on 2nd October and evidently kept his word.

[5] On the 24th April, 1632, the Council at Surat wrote to the Company that 1200 "fardles" of Agra indigo had been ordered. On the 4th Jan. 1633, they reported that 1480 bales of that commodity were ready for the *James*, and on the 27th Jan. that they expected to make the quantity for the *Mary* up to 2000 bales. See *English Factories*, 1630—1633, pp. 216, 255, 280.

but all against mee, And liveing in Continuall feare of some bad dealinge from this Governour.

The 21[*st October* 1632]. I concluded for the whole, selling the Quicksilver att Rupees 3½ per Sere and the virmillion att Rupees 4 per sere (of 37 pice [*c.* 1¼ *lbs.*] to the Sere)[1] unto 40 severall Shopkeep[er]s att one moneths tyme, and to allow 1 per Centum for new Puttana Shaw Jehannees[2] and 1 per Centum for the monethes tyme to receave ready monye. And although there might bee much more added to the passage of this busines, Yett I hope this is sufficient satisfaction to any that desires to bee informed thereof. Some few dayes wee spent to provide Musters and to remitt the rest of the moneyes by exchaunge to Agra.

14*th November* [1632]. Haveinge ended accompts with all men, as alsoe recovered in some monies due for broad Cloth (which is heere but in meane request [little demand]) out of Ghairatt Ckhauns Dharbore [Ghairat Khān's *darbār*] (this Governours Sonne in Lawe)[3], and fitted myselfe with sondrey sorts of Musters, haveing provided us a Cart whereon was layd the said Musters etts. Lumberment of accomodation [and other necessary baggage], even as wee were goeing forth of Towne, many of our servants were layed hold of, alleadginge I had deceaved them in the

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[1] The weight of the *ser* varied in different districts from 18 to about 40 *paisā* (*c.* ⅝ lbs. to *c.* 1¼ lb.). In 1620, when Hughes and Parker were at Patna, a "seare" of raw silk weighed 34½ "pices" of about 8½ drs. each, *i.e. c.* 1¼ lb. But see Mundy's own statement below (p. 156). The modern *ser* is usually taken at 2 lbs.

[2] Apparently Mundy means Shāhjahānī Rupees, coined at Patna. Rupees of the reigning monarch were worth a little more than those of his predecessor.

[3] Khwāja Kāmgār, Ghairat Khān, author of the *Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī* or *Jahāngīr-nāma*, was the son of Sardār Khān and nephew of 'Abdu'llah Khān. He received his title in consequence of his share in the pursuit and defeat of Khān Jahān Lodī in the Dakhan in 1632. In 1638 he became governor of Delhi, where he died in 1640—1. See Elliot, *Hist. of India*, VI. 439—441.

Stammell[1], selling it for Rupees 12 per coad[2] when it was not worth 7, soe sent their money back againe demaundinge our Cloth; but they kept the most part and returned the rest, allowing but rupees 12 per Coad as aforesaid. This I must take, or leave Cloth and money and all, come by it afterwards as well as I can, makeinge the price of it themselves; and soe wee were att last Cleired.

It may bee demaunded why I stayed not longer there, beinge that it appeares by the President and Councells letters that they expected noe lesse, and whether there might not bee a factorie settled there to the Companies benefitt, which they also Intimated.

The President etts. write that in the tyme of my stay there I should doe thus and thus, referringe dicto tyme as enordered mee from Agra, unto which factory I am to bee accomptable. Mr Fremlen enorders mee to make a suddaine [immediate, quick] dispatch att my hand [in any case], and to repaire with all speede to Agra to accompanie downe the Caphila, which accordingly I doe endeavour, carryeing with mee musters of what sorts of Cloth etts. this place affoards, and some relation of the state of the Countrie prices of sundrie Commodities, as well to be brought in as Carried hence.

I graunt there may bee a Factory established heere, but it must bee understood on what grounds, and consideration to be had to the Commodities and its transport. Now, were it left wholly to stay or come away, I doe not conceive it would be the Companies advantage att present to make any residence there For theis following reasons.

First, Ambartrees[3], or white Cloth, which is that wee

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[1] Stamel or stamet, a scarlet woollen cloth imported from England.

[2] A copyist's error for "covad" (Port. *covado*), a cubit or ell.

[3] See *ante*, *Relation* IX., note on p. 141.

most require from this place[1], is now dearer then accustomed, by reason this Governour is makeinge provision for the kings Moholl[2], soe that most of the weavers are imployed in makeinge fine lynnen. Moreover, litle or nothinge can bee done under 8 or 10 Months, which will come too late to be sent home per this yeres shipps, And a doubt whether the Cloth of this Countrey will equallize [rival, be equal to] that of Guzaratt [Gujarāt], which is now (praised be God) returninge to its former estate[3], better knowne and allowed of both for goodnes and Cheapnes then this is, of which I have not heard any great demaund. And for any other of this Countries Commodities, as Raw Silk, Indico, Gum lack [*lākh*, lac], Saltpeter, wee can have it much better, and better cheape elswhere.

Next, the transporte of goods from hence is extraordinary farr, deere and daungerous; but upon my Advice [in my opinion] there may come shippinge from Mesulapatam [Masulipatam] to any Porte hereabout; And soe the goods might bee sent downe the river Ganges to the Sea, or els by Land, there beinge also daunger both wayes, For this Countrie (as all the rest of India) Swarmes with Rebells and theeves. Neither can I advise them to what port to come, except I should make a journey downe to the Sea Coast to informe myselfe there what convenient places there may bee where shipps may safely arrive. Moreover, when [even if] I should advise [from] thither, It is uncertaine whether there bee any shippinge ready, or whether they will leave other better imployment to follow this.

Lastly, heere is a badd Governour ['Abdu'llah Khān],

[1] In 1620 Hughes and Parker reported that "Amberty callicoes" and raw silk are "the two mayne propes which must uphould this [Patna] a factory." *English Factories*, 1618—1621, p. 213.

[2] *Mahal* here means female-apartments, seraglio.

[3] Gujarāt was then beginning to recover from the effects of the famine of 1630.

and noe secure tradeing in his tyme, being of a Cruell and Covetous nature, not sparinge any, where anythinge is to be had, litle regardinge lawes, trade or humanitie, as by examples hereafter are mentioned. And to conclude: I hold it most expedient to deferr the settlinge heere untill such tyme as the Musters bee examined and the premisses considered.

Names of such Ports on the Sea Coast neerest unto Puttana as I was informed of by Merchants, etts. in Puttana aforesaid.

Satgame [Chittagong] formerly belonginge to the Mogoll, but now under the Kinge of Aracan[1] 300 Course.

Serrepore, neere to Dhacca[2], 160 Course from Chatgame and 350 course hence.

Heegeele and Sategame [Sātgāon] 150 Course hence to the Southward of Serrepore. I say Hooglee [Hūgli], Heegelee [Hijilī] and Chategame [Sātgāon][3].

Peepeelee [Pīplī][4], 150 Course from Hooglee Southwards.

Horsepore (Harispur)[5], 150 Course Southwards of Peepeelee.

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[1] The district of Chittagong, of which the port of the same name is the chief town, frequently changed hands in the early days. Mundy is here alluding to its re-capture from the Moguls in 1560—1570 by the King of Arakan and its annexation to his Kingdom as a tributary province. It was again taken by the Moguls in 1666.

[2] Sherpur, in Bogra district, Eastern Bengal, seems to be meant; but it is not a port. In the 17th century it was noted for *tassar* silk and was generally called "Serrpore Mercha" (Sherpur Murchā) to distinguish it from Sherpur in Mymensingh.

[3] Hijilī in Midnāpūr District. The site of the old port has long since disappeared. Sātgāon was the chief commercial town of Bengal before the foundation of Hūglī by the Portuguese. Its decay was due to the silting up of the channel of the Sarasvatī river.

[4] Pīplī, in Balasor district, was abandoned as a European centre of trade before the middle of the 17th century.

[5] Harispur is now useless as a harbour, as it is choked with sand. It is situated at the mouth of the Pātuā in Orissa.

Manickpatan, the Port Towne of Callapahare[1], which lyes 7 Course upp in the Countrie.

Theis 3 last ports are in Oreshawe [Orissa] and may each of them bee about 300 course off. This relation I conceive may bee doubtfull[2], but it is as I have it from others.

The Perticular prises of Certen Commodities as they were worth att my being there.

Quicksilver att	rupees	$3\frac{1}{2}$	per Seere
Vermillion	rupees	4	per Sere
Nuttmeggs	rupees	4	per Sere
Mace	rupees	16	per Sere

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[1] Manikpatan, at the mouth of the Chilkā Lake, 20 m. W. of Pūrī, is now useless as a port owing to the silting up of its harbour.

Callapahare, Calepar, Karapar, Campare, Kampare, Caregare, &c. = Kālāpahār, the Black Hill, appears to have been a sailor's name for the district of which Ganjam was the centre and may have been so called from the dark appearance of the Khond Hills from the sea. The name Karapar is found in sailing directions up to 1852, but does not appear on any modern map. Or it is possible that Kālā Pahār was the designation of a district or place named after Kālā Pahār, the Muhammadan conqueror of Orissa, *c.* 1565, who was a scion of the great family of Lodī Afghāns, the first representative of which was Miān Muhammad Khān Farmulī, surnamed Kālā Pahār (*c.* 1450—1510), the nephew of Sultān Bahlōl Lodī of Delhi. There seem to have been at least three very distinguished and wealthy military leaders of this family, surnamed in succession Kālā Pahār. But I have no evidence that the Kālā Pahār of Orissa actually founded any town named after himself or acquired any *jāgīr* (estate) in the country.

Manikpatan and Kālāpahār were names well known to geographers in the 17th century. The first, in easily recognizable forms, appears on almost all maps after 1640 or so. The latter thus on those in the editor's collection :—

G. Blaeuw, 1642, and Hondius, 1644 ; Asia. Carigare N. of Manicapatan : lat. *c.* 23.

G. de l'Isle, 1705. Carapara S. of Maniquepatan, copied by P. vander Aa, *c.* 1720, and Dezauche, 1782.

P. Mortier, *c.* 1720. Carepare on an estuary and river N. of Monserootte (Mansūrkotā) : lat. *c.* 19° 40′.

French map, 1764. Karapara, N. of Ganjam.

[2] Mundy is quite right. The distances he gives cannot be relied on.

Pepper	rupees	24	per Maund
Cloves	rupees	5½	per Sere
Cardamum or Ellachee [*ilāchī*]	rupees	1¾	per Sere
Dry Ginger	rupees	10	per Maund
Allum	rupees	8	per Maund
Saffron Kestwally [*Kishtwarī*][1]	rupees	16	per Sere
Ditto Cazmeeree [*Kashmīrī*]	rupees	10	per Sere
Nausador [Pers. *nausādar*, sal-ammoniac, solder]	rupees	8	per Maund
Butche [Hindī, *bach*, orris-root]	rupees	9	per Maund
Tynne	rupees	1	per Sere

The names of sundrie Commodities to be had in Puttana, *vizt.*

Ambartrees, made at Lackhore (Lakhāwar), Nundownepore, Selimpore[2], etts., 12 and 14 Course off, 10¼ coveds longe and ner (*sic*) 1 broad.

Ckassaes [*khāssa*] att Sunargam[3], 300 Course downe the River Ganges, a fine and thinn Cloth, and of a Thicker sort from Oreshawe [Orissa], 16, 17 and 18 coveds longe and 1 broad.

Mollmolshahees [*malmal shāhī*, royal muslin] a thinner Cloth then the former, from ditto places, etts., the same in length and breadth.

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[1] Kishtwār was an Himalayan Rājpūt State, lying in very beautiful country to the south-east of the Kashmīr Valley. It became part of the modern State of Kashmīr in 1833. Temple, *Journals kept in Hyderabad*, &c., 1. 306. Saffron is largely grown in the valleys of this part of the Himalayas. Pelsart, writing in 1627, says (*Très humble Remontrance*, p. 13), "Cassimir...nothing is obtained from this province but saffron, which is of two kinds; one grows in the neighbourhood of Cassimeer...the other, which is the better kind, at Castewarry."

[2] I have not succeeded in identifying these two places. In the *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Jarrett, II. 156, Salīmpur is given among the *mahals* in the *sarkar* of Tirhūt, but I have not traced it on any map.

[3] Sonārgāon, 15 miles east of Dacca.

Ornees, [*orhnī*, a woman's mantle][1], 16 coveds longe, wrought with Silk and gold.

Ballabands [*bālāband*, turban band] 3 coveds longe, wrought with Silk and gold.

Ellachas [*alāchah*][2], a silke stripte stuffe, 16 Coveds longe.

Theis 4 last from Maldhy [Malda], 100 Course Eastwards.

Tuckrees[3] or Becutporees, a thinn silke stripte stuffe 4 coveds longe and $\frac{7}{8}$ broad, att Becutpore[4], 5 Course off.

Ambar or Jettalees, a thinn silke couloured Tiffany[5], of ditto coveds, att Serepore Mircha [Sherpur Murchā], 150 Course Eastwards.

Ambarees and Chareconnaes[6], lynnen, stripte with white silke, from Oreshawe [Orissa] 300 Course off, 16 coveds long, 1 broad.

Hamaones[7], lynnen, 11 coveds longe, $1\frac{1}{4}$ broad, from Oreshawe.

Curtabees or Agabanees[8], a fine Cloth wrought with Silke,

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[1] See *English Factories*, 1630—1633, p. 4 *n.*

[2] See *Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, I. 398 *n.*; compare also *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, I. 91 *n.*, "*Alchah* or *alāchah*, any kind of corded stuff."

[3] *Tukrī*, silk for women's petticoats. The "Tuckeryes" or "shorte baftas" of Ahmadābād appear to have been cotton goods, as they are included in the "lynen investments." See *English Factories*, 1621—1623, p. 68.

[4] Baikunthpur, 10 miles east of Patna. The "Bycuntpore" of the *Orme MSS.*, India, XVII. 4699, where it is given as 15 miles from Patna.

[5] "Ambar or Jettalees" may represent variegated, spotted or striped piece-goods for female apparel (Hind. *ambar*, clothes; *chital*, *chītal*, variegated, spotted, striped) of the consistency of tiffany (or taffeta) silk.

[6] *Ambārī*, vulgar form of *'amārī*, a turban, the canopy of an elephant *haudā*. *Chārkhāna*, chequered muslin.

[7] *Hammām*, a thick stout cloth used for wrappers.

[8] Apparently we should read here "Cuttanees" (*katānī*, the finest linen) or "Atchabanees" (*achhābanī*, fine fabric (*bānī*) or fine silk-thread (*bānā*)). See Yule, *s.vv.* Cuttanee, Alleja, Alcatif, and Piece-goods (Bengal list).

Silver and Gold, in Flowers and spotts, 4 coveds longe.

Of all the former I bought musters for the Company.

Raw silke from Muckhoodabad and Zahidabad[1], 126 Course hence Southward.

Bengala Quilts from Sategame [Sātgāon].

Indico, Gumlacke, Saltpeter, made hereabouts, although not very good, Gumlack excepted.

The Coved heere is $1\frac{1}{3}$ coved of Agra, and 5 Coveds of Agra make 4 English Yards, Soe that this Coved is neerest hand [as near as possible] 1 yard 2 inches. The weight [heere] is 37 pice to a Sere [$1\frac{1}{4}$ *lb.*] and 40 Sere to 1 Maund [50 *lb.*]; 22 pice is neerest 1 lb. English of 16 ounces[2].

Two or three words more on conclusion of this discourse, and then I will apply myselfe to the returne.

Some few dayes since I receaved a Letter from Mr Fremlen, adviseing mee hee had received one from Suratt, wherein the President and Councell acknowledged themselves in an Errour in writeinge Puttana when they meant Semano [Samānā], a place within 40 Course of Agra[3], where is much Cloth made of that name, Also Dherriabads [*daryābād*], and Ckhairabads [*khairābād*][4] not farr off, beinge other 2 Townes of the same names, There haveinge bene in former Tymes of the aforesaid Cloth some quantitie sent for Suratt and soe for England. Soe that this Journey and imployment is but the effect of a mistake.

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[1] Maksudābād (Murshidābād) and Saidābād. See *English Factories*, 1618—1621, p. 194 *n.*

[2] If 22 pice weighed an English pound av., then the pice was $8\frac{3}{4}$ drs. in 1632, not $8\frac{1}{2}$ drs. as Hughes and Parker reported in 1620 (see *ante*, p. 149 *n.*); but the difference could have had no practical effect on weighing piece-goods, &c. The Patna maund of the period was evidently 50 lbs.; the modern maund is taken at 80 lbs.

[3] Samānā in Patiālā State, then in the *sarkār* of Sirhind. See *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Jarrett, II. 296.

[4] See *ante*, *Relation* IX., note on p. 140.

RELATION XI[1].

OF PUTTANA [PATNA] AND OF ABDULLA CKAUN ['ABDU'LLAH KHĀN] GOVERNOUR THEREOF.

The Cittie lyes alongst on the river Ganges, which, with the suburbs, may conteyne in length about 3 miles; a very longe Bazare with trees on each side (which is much used in theis parts). It hath above 200 of Grocers or Druggists, and of severall druggs a world. It is the greatest Mart of all this Countrie, from whence they repaire from Bengala that way to the Sea side, and from Indostan and other Inland Countries round about, plentifull in provisions, abounding with sundrie Commodities as before mentioned[2].

Great Mens Pleasure Boates.

Heere are certaine pleasure boats used by Great Men, which (because of their strange Shape) I will describe in

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[1] In the *Harl.* copy *Relation* XI. is No. IX. It follows *Relation* VIII. and is introduced as follows :—"Now twoe or three wordes of Puttana it selfe, its Governor, etts. And then wee will addresse ourselves to some small observations of trade, and then to our returne for Agra againe."

[2] Compare Fytch's description (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, X. 180 —"Patanaw is a very long and great Towne...the Houses are simple, made of earth, and covered with straw, the Streets are very large. In this Towne there is a trade of Cotton, and cloth of Cotton, much Sugar, which they carrie from hence to Bengala and India, very much Opium and other commodities." In 1620 Hughes and Parker wrote of "Puttanna" as "the chefest marte towne of all Bengala." *English Factories*, 1618—1621, p. 212.

few words, as also by figure[1]. Theis boats I cannot resemble to any thinge better then a Gaefish [garfish], extraordinarie lowe, longe and slender[2], with 20, 25 or 30 oares of a side, all severally painted, some greene, some redd and blew, etts. The place where the great man Sitts is either fore or in the midle, in a Curious Chowtree[3] made of purpose. When they rowe to any place, they are stuck full of Flaggs There, hanginge downe on the prow, which shoots forward a mightie way, as doth the Sterne afterward on, both ends sharpe alike[4]. I say, on both sides of the prowe, hang downe many of those Cowe Tailes[5] so much esteemed. They use a Cheere to their Guing [? going], as wee doe in our Barges, one giveinge the word first and then all the rest answere.

From our hired howse, which lay on the bancks of the river[6], wee might oftentimes see, hard by the shoare, many great fishes, as bigg as Boneitoes or Albacores[7], which did leape in the same manner as they doe att Sea. They are here called Soa, their perticuler forme I knowe not[8].

The Hindowes of this place ferrie all their dead over the river and there burne them[9], being as I heere not permitted to doe it on this side.

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[1] See Illustration No. 11.

[2] The garfish or garefish (*belone vulgaris*) has a long, slender body.

[3] Elaborately constructed platform or covered seat. See *ante*, *Relation* v., note on p. 26.

[4] Mundy apparently means a *bajrā* or pleasure boat, the budgerow of Europeans. But the description applies equally to the *mayūr pankhī* (peacock's wing) or native pleasure boat.

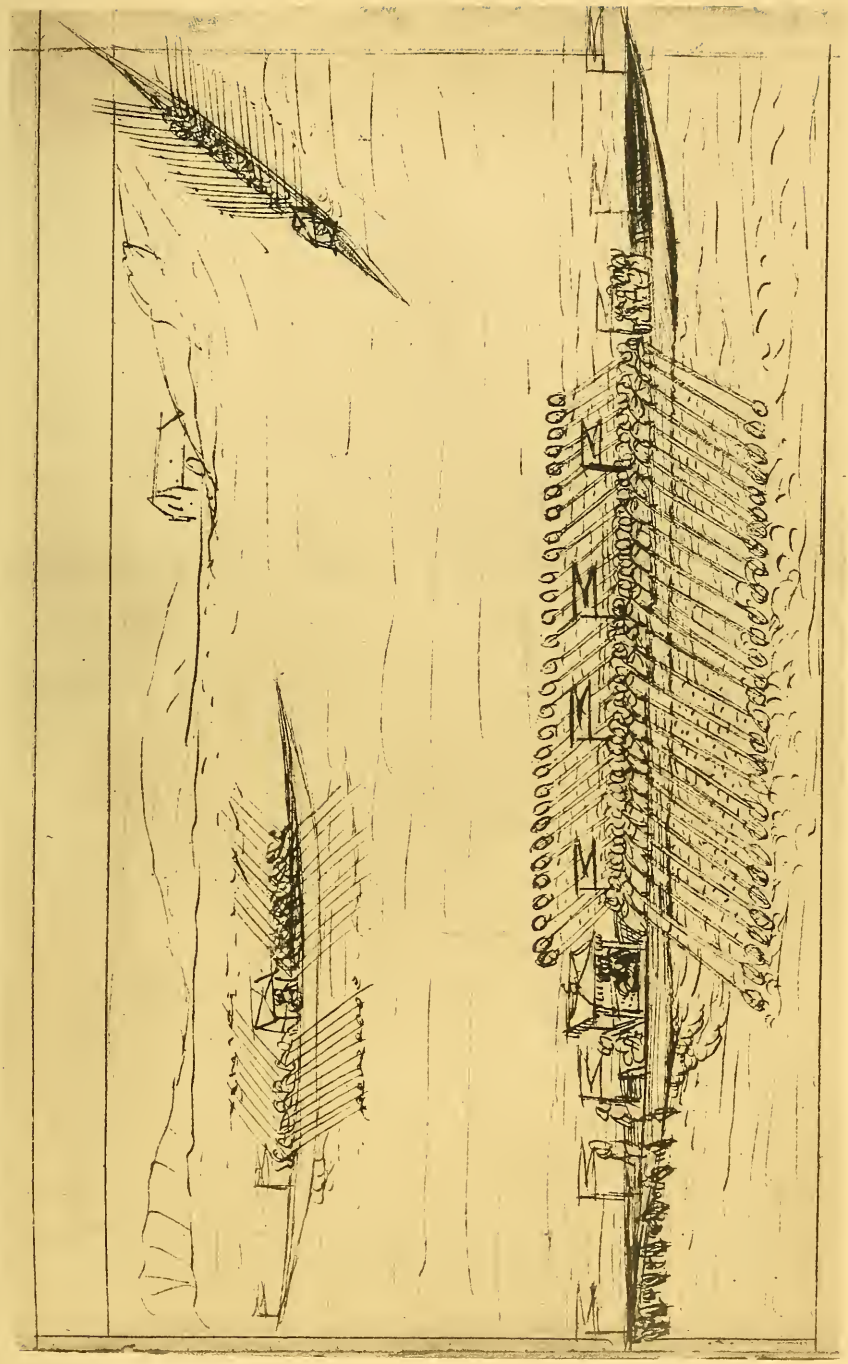
[5] The bushy tail of the Tibetan yak (*chaunrī*, chowry) used for horse trappings in Mundy's time. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Chowry.

[6] Messrs Hughes and Parker occupied "a house in the greate bazare, near unto the Cutwalls choutrye." See Appendix D.

[7] See *ante*, *Relation* IV. p. 15.

[8] *Sūā*, the garfish of the Indian rivers: *belone cancila*.

[9] The *Harl.* copy has a marginal note here—"The burninge place of the Hindooes."



No. II. DRAWINGS OF A *BAJRĀ* OR *MAYŪR PANKHĪ*, A NATIVE PLEASURE BOAT

Zeffe Ckauns Sarae.

Heere is also the fairest Sarae (*sarāī*) that I have yett seene, or I thinck is in India, not yett finished. It hath two faire Courts, each haveinge warehowses round about beneath, and roomes with galleries to lodge in alofte, a very Stately entrance, lyeing by the river. This place is cheifely for Merchants of straunge Countries, as Mogolls, Persians, Armenians, where they may lodge and keepe their goods the tyme of their stay heere, payeinge so much by the moneth. Theis are usuallie in great Citties, but the other sort of Saraes are in all places, servinge for all sorts of Travellers that come att night and away in the morninge. This was built by Zeffe Ckaun [Saif Khān][1] late Governour of this place, and now of Ellahabaz [Allahābād], with a faire Messitt (*masjid*) adjoyninge to it[2]. Hee also began a faire garden on the other side the river. Hee is generallie Commended and his returne wished for by all, as much as this now Governour, Abdulla Ckaun ['Abdu'llah Khān], is hated, feared, and his expulsion by them desired[3].

Abdulla Ckaun.

This Governour, Abdulla Ckaun, is said to bee [have been] the death of above 200000 persons[4], a Cruell natured and Covetuous Tirant, and therefore more fitter to bee alwaies

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[1] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 108 *n.*, for a notice of Saif Khān.

[2] Mundy seems to be alluding to the Madrasa or College of Saif Khān and the mosque attached to it. The latter is still in good preservation and the remains of some of the College apartments are to be seen. In Mundy's time merchants may have been allowed to occupy a portion of the building, and hence his mistake. See Mr Beveridge's account of the Madrasa and mosque, "The City of Patna," *Calcutta Review*, vol. LXXVI. p. 221.

[3] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. pp. 90, 111, for previous mentions of and a short note on 'Abdu'llah Khān.

[4] While under surveillance, in Jahāngīr's reign, 'Abdu'llah Khān boasted that he had caused 200,000 infidels' heads to be cut off, so that there might be two rows of minarets of heads from Agra to Patna. See his life, translated from the *Maāsiru'l Umarā* by Mr Beveridge, *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1912, pp. 97—105.

imployed againste Theeves and Rebells then to reside in a peaceable Governement. Beinge sent by Jehangueere against Sultan Ckorum [Khurram], when hee was out in rebellion, hee revolted from the father to the Sonne[1]. On a tyme his brother shewed him a poore woman almost dead, and a litle childe cryeinge and pulling att the mothers Dugg for milke. Hee tooke his Launce and runn them both through, sayeing hee would remedie them both. Annother tyme there was a great buildinge filled with poore Captived Weomen and Children, when word was brought him that they would quickly perrish with hunger and cold if they were not releived. Hee cawsed the said building to bee sett on Fire and soe burnt them all upp together[2]. And nowe, since my arrivall hither, hee caused Chowdree Pertabb [Chaudhari Pratāp], an auntient man of great place and respect, to be Chawbackt[3], beaten with Staves and shoes, which all the Cittie greived att, knoweing him to bee a good man, and guiltlesse of any Cryme, except to gett out of him some thousands of Rupees. Alsoe, since my beinge heere, hee cawsed divers Mogolls of respect to ride in open shame on Asses backes, being first beaten and their faces blackt all over with soote, whereof one of them for verie greife poysoned himselfe the next daye. A Raja comeinge to him in peaceable manner was received with a Serepawe [*saropā*, dress of honour], but two dayes after hee was layd hold of and made prisoner[4], his goods made spoile or pillage, whereupon they saie his wife and freinds have

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[1] For Prince Khurram's rebellion and the defeat of 'Abdu'llah Khān by Safī (afterwards Saif) Khān, see *ante*, *Relation* VIII. pp. 106, 107, 108 *n.*

[2] No other account of these particular acts of barbarity appears to exist, but Mr Beveridge states that "'Abdu'llah Khān was a brute and capable of any cruelty." See the *Āīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, I. 520; and *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, p. 213 *n.*, for his murder of Afghān prisoners.

[3] Flogged with a *chābak*, whip.

[4] Here is a marginal note—"His perfidiousness to a Raja."

risen upp against him ['Abdu'llah Khān], and have putt Bababeag [Bābā Beg] to the worst, whoe was sent Fouzdare [*faujdār*, military officer] to Callianpore [Kālyānpur], the Raias [Rājā's] residence[1]. This Bababeag was Customer [revenue officer] att my comeinge, whoe advised mee to looke to myselfe, for that his Master was a badd man and cared for noebody, noe not for the King himselfe. Hee ['Abdu'llah Khān] hath imposed new Customes both Inwards and outwards, that never were, Soe much, as poore weomen that sell milke upp and downe streets hee makes them pay custome for it. I was twice before him, but never neerer then a Stones cast[2]. Some part of the reason was because I brought him noe present. From the Broker that sold our Quicksilver etts. hee extorted rupees 250, alleadginge that hee had sold Jewells that I brought (which were none att all), and that hee was not made acquainted with it. Hee sleepes but litle, rises att Midnight, findes fault with one, beats another[3]. The cheifest Merchants of the Cittie resolve to leave the place untill hee bee removed hence, fearinge howrely that hee will pick some quarrell with them. In fine, hee plaies the Tirant[4]. One of his daughters (att my being there) was burned to death, for a Candle catchinge hold of her Clothes, they all suddenlie tooke fire, being of most fine linnen, with much sweete Oyle, Chua (a kind of perfume), etts., which soe scorched

[1] Mundy has a further and more detailed account of this affair in the next *Relation*.

[2] Here is noted in the margin—"His Pride." In the life of 'Abdu'llah Khān in the *Maāsiru'l Umarā* (*J.A.S.B.*, 1912, pp. 97—105), it is said that "no one was able to represent his case to him personally; he had to speak to the *dīwān* and the *bakhshī*."

[3] A marginal note adds—"His litle rest and lesse love hee hath from all men."

[4] 'Abdu'llah Khān was Governor of Bihār (Patna) from 1632 till 1643, when he was transferred to Allahābād. He died in Dec. 1644. "In spite of his cruelty and tyranny men believed that he could work miracles and used to make offerings to him." *Maāsiru'l Umarā*, translated by Mr Beveridge (*J.A.S.B.*, 1912, pp. 97—105).

and frighted her, that shee fell into a feaver and in fewe dayes dyed.

Chua is a rich perfume, made liquid, of Colour black[1], which comonly they put under their Armepitts and thereabouts, and many tymes over bosome and backe.

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[1] Here is a marginal note—"Chua worth 18 and 20 rupees an ounce ordinarily." *Chawwā*, *chanwā*, *chowā* and *choā* are common commercial names for a fragrant ointment or paste, made up of four ingredients, usually sandalwood, wood of aloes, saffron and musk, or of ambergris, saffron, musk and the juice of flowers of the *arbor tristis*. But Mundy evidently refers to the liquid and extravagantly expensive perfume distilled direct from wood of aloes (*agallochum*) by a process described in the *Aīn Akbarī* (tr. Blochmann, I. 81) and there called *chūwah*. At the end of the description there is the quaint remark, "Some avaricious dealers mix sandalwood and almonds with it, trying thereby to cheat the people."

RELATION XII[1].

THE RETURNE FROM PUTTANA TO AGRA.

The 16*th November Anno* 1632. Wee forsooke our howse in Puttana as willinglie as men forsake an infectious place (by reason of the Tiranny of the Governour, Abdulla Ckaun ['Abdu'llah Khān]), and that eveninge wee came to Ackhteare ca Sarae[2] in the Suburbs of the Cittie, ¾ of a mile without the gates, where wee stayed that night, and were there put in feare as in Relation [X.] fo: [58][3].

There came then out with us Coja Anoore [Khwāja Anwar][4], whoe went to assist Bababeage [Bābā Beg] att Callanpore [Kalyānpur]. The Raja whereof comeinge to visitt Abdulla Ckaun presented him with an Eliphant, Antelopps, Hawkes, etts., and was for that tyme freindlye received with a Serepaw [*saropā*], but afterwards betrayed as before you have heard[5]; whereupon this difference began. The wife and freinds of the said Raja haveing put

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[1] This is *Relation* XI. in the *Harl.* copy.

[2] Probably the *sarāī* of Ikhtiyār Khān, one of the 1200 eunuchs of Sa'īd Khān Chāgtāī. This man, Mr Beveridge informs me, was Sa'īd Khān's *vakīl* and is said to have built bridges and *sarāīs* in Patna and Bihār.

[3] There are blanks here in the MS. Mundy is alluding to the arrest of some of his servants as recounted in *Relation* X., *ante*, p. 149. There, however, the event is attributed to the 14th November.

[4] I have found no other mention of this individual.

[5] See *ante*, *Relation* XI. p. 160.

Bababeag to the worst, the said Coja [Khwāja] went to his ayde[1]. Hee had two horses ledd before him, verie strangelie disguised with feathers and other unusuall abilliments [habiliments, accoutrements], on which they say great men ride when they are in fight[2]. The reason of this their soe disguising them, as they say, is to affright other horses. Calliampore [is] 50 Course from Puttana[3].

A Coja[4] is one whoe hath his testiccles cutt out, and are alwaies about great men, whoe imploy them in matters of greatest trust, of which the Cheifest is to guarde their weomen, theire treasure, etts. Sometymes they are made Commaunders in the warrs, and prove good and resolute Soldiers, as this is by reporte, whoe is one of that sorte.

There are likewise others called Cojaes, but they are many tymes grave auntient men of respect and place, as Coja Abdull Hassen, Coja Tahare and Coja Mahmud[5], etts., alsoe (as they say) others that have bene att Mecha [Mecca].

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[1] I have found no other contemporary account of this affair.

[2] For the names of the various pieces of horse-armour and trappings in use in the Mogul army in Mundy's time, see Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 71—72. The "feathers" were probably fly-whisks.

[3] Kalyānpur, now an unimportant village in the Gopālganj subdivision of Sāran District, contains the ruins of the fortress of Kalyān Mal (first Mahārājā of the Hathwā Rāj family), after whom the place was named. There is no authentic history of the Hathwā line before the 18th century, and it is therefore impossible to identify the particular *rājā* involved in the quarrel with 'Abdu'llah Khān. For an account of the early traditions regarding the Hathwā chieftains, see "Aristocracy of Bihār" (*Calc. Review*, 1883, pp. 80—101); "Chronicles of the Hathwā Rāj" (*Calc. Review*, 1897, pp. 33—44).

[4] *Khwāja* (vulg. *khojā*), a man of distinction, a rich merchant; also a title applied to eunuchs.

[5] Mr Beveridge thinks that the man intended by "Abdull Hassen" is Khwāja Abū'l Hasan Turbati, who was styled Ruknu's-Saltanat. He died in 1632—3. See Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 154 *n.*

"Coja Tahare and Coja Mahmud" apparently represent one man, *i.e.* Khwāja Muhammad Tāhir. Pelsart, writing in 1627 (p. 1), mentions, among the palaces of the great lords at Agra, that of "Codzia-mamet Thahaar, seigneur de 2000 chevaux." See also De Laët, tr. Lethbridge, p. 68, who calls this man "Codha Mamet Thahar."

The 17th November 1632. Att this place (Muttra ca Sarae)[1] wee found the daughter of Danshawe [Sultān Dānyāl][2], the third Sonne to Kinge Ecbar [Akbar], travellinge Towards Agra, sent for by the Kinge. Her brother Balsunder [Bāyasanghar][3], beinge in feare of his life (att Shaw Jehans [Shāh Jahān's] entrance to the Crowne), fledd to Tartaria [Turkistan], whose daughter that Kinge is sayd to have married, and a rumour that hee will assiste him to enter uppon Shaw Jehans dominions[4], Tartaria adjoyninge to the Mogolls Territories a litle beyond Caball [Kābul], which is 600 Course beyond Agra Northwarde.

The 18th November 1632. (Naubuttpore [Naubatpur], 4 course.)

The 19th November 1632. (Mutta ca Sarae[1], 4 Course.)

The 20th November 1632. (Arwol[5] ca Sarae, 7 Course.)

The 21th November 1632. (Aganore [Aganūr] ca Sarae, 7 course.)

The 22th November 1632. (Telotoo [Tilothū], 15 course.)

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[1] I have not been able to identify either of these halting places.

[2] This daughter was probably Sa'ādat Bānū Begam. See *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, I. 619.

[3] "Balsunder" is a Hindu informant's attempt at folk etymology in reproducing an unfamiliar Muhammadan name.

[4] Bāyasanghar, Dānyāl's second son, espoused the cause of Shahriyār on the death of Jahāngīr, was defeated by Shāh Jahān's forces under Asaf Khān and, according to the *Maāsiru'l Umarā*, fled "to the fort of Kaulās in Telingana" and subsequently "died a natural death." The man whom Mundy took for Dānyāl's son was "an obscure person" who went to Balkh and impersonated Bāyasanghar. "Nazr Muhammad Khān, the ruler there, wanted to make him a relation by marriage, but as his claims did not prove to be true the connection did not take place." From Balkh the impostor went to Persia and Baghdad. In 1635 he was arrested by Daulat Khān Mayī and sent to the Court of Shāh Jahān, where he was put to death. See Daulat Khān Mayī (*Maāsiru'l Umarā* G. No. 159, tr. Beveridge, *J.A.S.B.*, 1912). I am indebted to Mr Beveridge for the information contained in this note.

[5] The original village of Arwāl has long since been swept away by the Sōn, but a group of villages close by the old site now bears that name.

Theis 5 dayes nothing happened extraordinarie, only att Macraen [Makrain], on the River Soan towards Agra, wee overtooke the Luggage of Backur Ckaun [Bākir Khān], whoe was gon to Sousorame [Sāsarām] and travellinge to the Kinge, beinge sent for[1], Mirza Muckay [Mīrzā Makkī] being gon to possesse his Government in Oreshaw [Orissa], as afore mentioned[2].

A Tale of the Philosophers Stone.

There is a Storie that this river of Soan tooke his name of Sunna [Sonā] or gold, on this occasion. Raja Mansinge [Mān Singh], whoe conquered this Countrie, Bengala, etts., for King Ecbar [Akbar], passinge his Eliphants over this River, one amongst the rest had a great iron Chaine att his legg, which att his Comeinge out of the river was found to be very gold, Soe that they say the Paros[3] (which wee call the Philosophers stone) lyes in this river, on which this Chaine chaunced to touch; but for all the dilligence they could use, it could never bee found out, noe more then wee in Europe can doe with all our studdies[4].

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[1] Bākir Khān Najm Sānī, a commander of 900 under Jahāngīr, married the niece of Nūr Mahal. He afterwards became Governor of Multān, with the titular dignity of Farzand, "Son" of the Emperor, for his services there. Subsequently he was Governor of Oudh and Orissa, in both which posts he further distinguished himself. In 1632 "on account of his behaving badly and unjustly to the inhabitants of Orissa, he was removed, and when he came to court in the 6th year [1632—1633] he was made Governor of Gujarāt." Mundy travelled in his train from Agra to Jālor in 1633, as appears in *Relations* XVI. and XVII. Bākir Khān was next appointed Governor of Allahābād, where he died in 1637. I am indebted to Mr Beveridge for this information. See *Maāsiru'l Umarā*, tr. Beveridge, in *J.A.S.B.*, 1912, pp. 385—387; Beale, *Oriental Biog.* p. 104.

[2] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 85.

[3] Hindi, *pāras*, *pāras patthar*, *paras*, *parash*: touchstone for testing gems, also "the philosopher's stone," believed by Hindus to immediately turn into gold any metal it touches.

[4] Mān Singh was Akbar's Governor in Bengal in 1588. Mundy's story is obviously apocryphal, and Mr W. Crooke, who has been often on the banks of the Sōn, tells me he never heard of it. Sir George Grierson, however, says that he has often been informed that the *pāras*

Haveinge formerly made mention of Ruitas Ghurre [Rohtāsgarh], and hearinge strange reports of it, I made bold to Comitt the Charge of the Cart of luggage to 3 or 4 of our howse Servants, and to goe a litle out of the way to it. That night wee lay att Telootoo [Tilothū] aforesaid, the way being alonge by the river Soan, woodie and wilde.

The 23th November 1632. Wee came first to Ecbarpore ([Akbarpur], 13 course), a poore Towne att the foote of the mountaine [spur of the Kaimūr Hills] whereon stands the Castle aforesaid. There wee enquired whether wee might ascend to it or noe, but in few words wee were advised to returne the same way that wee came, for it would require a great deale of trouble and tyme, *vizt.*, to petition the Perdan [*pradhān*, *pardhān*, chief minister], whoe is the Rajaes deputie belowe, himselfe resideing alofte, it being att least 2 course upp, hee againe to give notice to Raja Metresen aforesaid[1], and to require his descutt [*dastkhat*, signature] or note (after examination what wee are and wherefore wee come) for leave to gett in, without which againe wee cannott come out. And soe consideringe the trouble, not knoweinge what hindrance might ensewe to us thereby, wee desisted from our purpose.

(philosopher's stone) lies hidden in the river, and that the waters, if properly dealt with, could convert iron into gold. Unfortunately the secret has long been lost!

The modern names Sōn, Sōhan for this river and its classical name Hiranya-vāha both mean the gold-bearer, on account of the ruddy coloured sand it brings down in flood. Hence, no doubt, the allusion in the text. For the common legend of the Sōn, see Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections*, ed. 1893, I. 17.

[1] Vīra Mitrasena is recorded in the *Bādshāh-nāma*, p. 310, as Mitr Sen, brother of Rājā Siyām Singh Tānwar, holding the rank of commander of 1000 horse. He died in the 6th year of Shāh Jahān (1633 A.D.). In 1631 A.D. (V. St. 1688) he had an inscription placed over the Kathautiyā Gate of the Fort of Rohtās, calling himself the brother of Syāma Sahi and giving his Tānwar Rājpūt descent. See "Sanscrit Inscription on Slab removed from Kathautiyā Gate of Fort Rohtās," in *J.A.S.B.*, vol. VIII. pt. II. (1839), pp. 693 ff. Mundy's statement is of value as proving that Mitrasena was in office at the end of the year 1632.

Ruitas Ghurr, a most famous, large, stronge and strange place.

This place (Ruitas Ghurr [Rohtāsgarh]) is accompted amongst the strongest and rarest of all India[1], if not Cheife. Thus much wee sawe. It is seated on an exceedinge high rockey mountaine, towards the Topp, resemblinge the Cliffes about the Lizard, in a manner perpendicular, with a great wall on that againe. By report it conteynes 13 Course in Compasse, alofte plaine, with 12 Townes. Springes and ponds of Water to be found by digging 2 foote from the superficies of the earth, aboundinge with fruite, graine, Cattle, etts., maintenance of all sorts, where they traffique, marrie, punnish, etts., among themselves. None of those that are above or belowe suffered to come to each other without speciall license of the Raja[2]. There is a profunditie on it, with a mouth like a well, whereinto, with a longe bamboo, theie turne condemned persons, whoe are never more heard of, there beinge noe other manner of execution within the said Castle for matters deserving death; Neither can the bottome of the said Concavitie bee found[3]. All the Countrie East, west, and South verie hillie, whereof manie high and steepie neere the said Castle,

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[1] "There are sixe especiall Castles, to say, Agra, Guallier [Gwalior], Nerver [Narwār], Ratamboore [Ranthanbhor], Hassier [Asīr], Roughtas [Rohtās]. In every one of these Castles he [the King] hath his Treasure kept." Hawkins (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, III. 31.

[2] The *Āīn Akbarī*, tr. Jarrett, II. 152, gives the circumference of Rohtās as 14 *kos*. For other descriptions of the fortress, see Herbert, p. 63; Tavernier, ed. Ball, II. 83; Tieffenthaler, I. 432; *Bengal Dist. Gaz.* (Shāhābād), pp. 147—152.

[3] In no account of Rohtāsgarh that I have seen is there any mention of a subterranean dungeon or oubliette such as that described by Mundy. Mr W. Crooke informs me that there was such a dungeon at Chunār, where food was let down to prisoners through a narrow hole in the roof, but Mundy's account seems to indicate a means of destruction only. Sir George Grierson believes that he saw at Rohtāsgarh a deep well down which wives who misconducted themselves were thrown, but he cannot vouch for the statement.

with plaines on the Topp alsoe, but farr out of the reach of any shott of what kinde soever. Upon and amonge those hills growe great bambooes and Canes, which are from hence carried to other parts, being of great use for their buildings, etts. in India. By the Towne runns a litle River [the Ausāna], and they say a litle farther are springs of water. There is a Tale goes of this Castle, how it was wonne by the Mogoll [Sher Shāh], by conveyinge thereinto with leave 5 or 600 doolees [*dolī*] or close chaires, with armed soldiers in leiu of weomen[1]. Haveing stayed 2 grees [*gharī*, the Indian hour] in the Towne, wee returned and stayed all night att this place (Atumba [Tūmbā], 13 course).

What a Gree is and a Pore.

A gree contains 22½ minutts of tyme, I say 22½ [theoretically 24]. Of theis grees, 8 makes one pore [*pahar*, watch], and 8 pores makes 24 howers, 4 in the day and 4 in the night, whether longe or shorte. Some measure it by a litle brasse dish with a hole in the bottome, which they put into a vessell of water, and when it sincketh by the water that commeth in att the litle hole aforesaid, then it is one gree, which they give to understand by strikeing on a great Copper plate [*ghariyāl*, gong], with a wooden hammer in stead of a Bell, soe many grees as it is. Then makeing a litle pawse, they alsoe strike the pore[2]. If it bee the 6th gree of the 3d pore, they first strike 6 and after that 3. The pores are Counted thus: From 6 in the

[1] Here is a marginal note—"Wonne by a Strattagem." This story is told of the Pathān ruler, Sher Shāh, who thus obtained possession of Rohtāsgarh after his defeat at Chunār in 1539. See also Herbert's account (p. 64). It is told of other fortresses also, *e.g.* Jālor and Deogiri (Daulatābād); see Finch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, IV. 62; and Tavernier, ed. Ball, I. 143—144.

[2] Mundy is describing a clepsydra or water instrument for measuring time. For other contemporary accounts, see *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Jarrett, III. 15—17; Terry, p. 230; Bowrey, ed. Temple, pp. 195—196; Fryer, ed. Crooke, II. 92—93.

morninge to 9 is the first, from 9 to 12 the second, from 12 to 3 the third, and from 3 to 6 the last pore of the daye; and soe of the night, begining from 6 to 6 in the morninge[1]. I ascended one of the lesser hills, the Topp a litle plaine, neere to which they shewed us a Lyons Cave or den.

The 24th November 1632. From Atumba [Tūmba] wee came to Tellotoo [Tilothū][2], 3 course; from thence to Sousarame [Sāsarām], 6 course. Haveinge lost the true waye, wee happened on another that brought us on the skirts of the Hills. Heere and there were some poore dwellings. Passing by a litle thickett, my horse started with greate violence, and suddainely on it [immediately after] wee all heard a furious rushinge into the said thickett. One of our men sayd it was a Tigar and sawe him, but I and the rest sawe him not. Wee had weapons to have slaine or hurt him, but wee concluded it was our safest Course to lett him alone; and as wee passed, enquireing of the Gawares [*ganwārs*, villagers], they told us there were many Tigars, etts. [and other] wild beasts thereabouts, which nowe and then come from amonge the mountaines.

By Sousarame wee mett 2 Hernabences [*harnābhains*] or wilde Buffaloes, now made tame, with a man driveing them, theis being to bee sent from this Governour to the Kinge, whoe useth them to fight, either one with another, or with some other wilde beast. They are farr bigger and higher then the ordinarie sort, with huge greate massie thick hornes, and longe. They are taken in the Deserts of Bengala. Of their skinns are made bucklers of the best sort. They also make them with the skinns of the Common

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[1] All this means that the Indian theory of time is that the day consists of 8 watches while the European counts only 6, and that the Indian day is divided into 60 hours of 24 minutes, whereas the European day consists of 24 hours of 60 minutes.

[2] Tilothū is a large village halfway between Rohtāsgarh and Sāsarām.

sort of Buffaloes, whose hornes serve in the makeing of Indian [composite] Bowes, addinge divers other materialls, as sinnewes, strong glew, wood, etts., being of the same forme of your turkish bowes, and as faire and rich.

In the aforesaid deserts of Bengala are very many Rinoserosses, heere called Ghendas [*gendā*][1], whose skinne is very thick and hard, lyeinge in plates over his bodye, with one horne standinge on his nose, as high as a Tall horse, but made in proportion like a hogge. This by relation; for as yett I have not seene any, Although there was one sent by Zeffe Ckaune [Saif Khān] to the Kinge, which was on the way when wee came towards Puttana, but wee mist him by reason wee came the Horse way, where our Carts would not passe. One Nundollol [Nandā Lāl], that bought some Cloth of mee at Puttana, proffered mee in a few dayes (if I would stay soe longe) To procure mee a Younge one for a small matter. Hee had ¾ of a hundred weight of their hornes to sell. In Poroonia [Purnea], Acktayar Ckauns Jagguere [Ikhtiyār Khān's *jāgīr*][2], who is his Master, there bee heards of them of 30 or 40 together, which they hunt and kill with launces on horseback, strikeing them in the fundament the rest of their body not soe easely peirced through, such is the hardness of their skinne, of which they also make bucklers, but not of soe good esteeme as the others, by reason of their thicknes, weight and stubbornenes [stiffness, toughness]. Of theis hornes they make Cupps, rings and Churees [*chūrī*, bracelet], Circles or small hoopes, which weomen weare on their wrists, they being of great esteeme, as are the rings and

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[1] Mundy has here made the mistake of putting in an *h* where there is none in the vernacular: an error still commonly perpetrated, as in "gharry" for *gārī*, a carriage.

[2] See *ante*, note on p. 163. Sa'īd Khān died in 1605—1606, and it is therefore unlikely that his follower, Ikhtiyār Khān, was alive so late as 1632, as Mundy's statement would seem to imply, though no doubt his *jāgīr* would still pass under his name.

Cupps, especially of some sorts. From Sousarame [Sāsarām], not findeing the Carts there, wee went back to Macraen or Sherepore [Makrain or Sherpur][1], in all 14 Course this day.

The 25th November 1632. Wee came altogeather to Sousarame againe (5 course).

The 26th November 1632. Betweene Sousarame and this place (Khorumavad [Khurramābād[2] now Jahānābād], 5 course) wee had such another adventure as wee found betwene Jannakeis Sarae, and Shecundra[3]. Another litle girle, whoe (as shee said), because one day her Master tooke hold of her to have forced her, shee cryeinge out, it came to her mistris eares, whoe thereupon groweinge jealouse of her, with a hott spitt burnt her mouth and hands, soe to disfigure her, whereupon her master gave her her libertie, and bidd her shifte for herselfe. The soares of the burninge were yett fresh. This was even served as the other for reasons before mentioned.

The 27th and 28th November 1632. Some 2 Course from Ckoia ca Sarae [Khwāja kā Sarā at Kathjū] (6 course), wee mett greate droves of Kine and Buffaloes, in number about 700, taken from the Gawares [*ganwārs*, villagers] hereabouts[4] by the sonne of Mirza Monchere [Mīrzā Manuchihr][5], whoe yesterday being in fight with them, had 7 horsemen slaine and 20 other hurt, meeteing some of them in our waye ([to] Cajoore ke Sara [Khajūrā], 10 course)[6]. Of theis kinde of broyles, there is perpetuallie

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[1] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 133.

[2] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 129. In the outward journey Mundy gives the distance between Sāsarām and Khurramābād as 6 *kos*.

[3] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 88.

[4] Here is a marginal note—"Pillage taken from the Gawares." The *Harl.* copy adds—"I meane booty."

[5] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 132.

[6] On the outward journey the party also halted at Sāwant, between Kathjū and Khajūrā.

in one part or other of India, but most comonly the Gawares goe to the worst, though they may bee able to stand out a while.

The 29th November 1632. On the way hither (Mogoll ca Sara [Mughal Sarāī], 7 course) wee mett with Naubatt Ckaun[1], whoe was goeinge against the Gawares [*ganwārs*] in Derbungee [Darbhangā] about Puttana. Hee had with him his Elephants, wives, and a very great number both of horse and foote. Att a litle Towne in our way wee found Tarree [*tārī*, toddy] of date trees, but not soe good by farr as that about Suratt. Naubatt Ckauns Laskar [Naubat Khān's *lashkar*, camp] had made a great spoyle amonge their [the country people's] potts [of *tārī*] (as it is sometymes the fashion in Europe when the Soldiers march the Countrey), soe that they were afraid of us alsoe, untill that wee pacified them with money and faire words. Our Hindooes alsoe dranck, which they say they may doe, as longe as they take the pott when it comes from the tree, before it touch the ground, otherwise not.

The 30th November 1632. Wee crost the river Ganges, which was now about 2 [arrows'] Flight shott over, as I made tryall from about the midle of it with my bowe and arrowes, shooteinge one arrowe to either side, which even lighted on the brinck, which by my Computation is about 600 of my stepps over, even the length of the longe Gallery att Paris[2], it beinge now retyred ½ a flight from either side since wee past over att our Comeinge. It is now 16 or 17 fathome deepe.

Wee were informed on the way that there was a mortallitie in this place [Benares], which att our arrivall wee found to bee true, for I thinck that of 10 parts of the people that wee left there, 9 parts were either dead or fledd,

[1] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 112, where Mundy calls this man "Nohabutt Chaun."

[2] See vol. I. p. 127.

some lyeing in the Streets as wee past. Moreover this night were carried away out of the Sarae perforce, by robbers, 5 horses with other goods, whoe take advantage of the weaknesse and fewnes of the people.

The First December 1632. Wee were faine to remaine heere [Benares] two dayes to mend our Cart and to stay for Company.

The place where they burne their dead—The manner of it.

One morninge I went to the River side to the place where they burne their dead, where were att least 40 fires att once, and in every one a dead body burneing, many consumed to ashes that morning before wee Came, others brought while wee were there standinge, whereof some are yett alive, whoe were put into the River upp to the midle, and soe lett die, holding that those that dye in that manner merritt more then ordinarie, whoe are also burned afterwards. Those poore that have not meanes to buy wood only sindge there faces and throwe them into the River[1], of which sort lay a multitude all alonge the water side, putrifieinge and stinckeinge, loathsome to behold. There manner heere of burninge is thus. They first make a hansome pile of woode, about a foote highe, and in length proportionable to the body, with bredth, on which it is layed, then covered againe with wood. Then goeinge about it three tymes, they sett fire of it towards the head, and then elswhere. The men are burned with a white Cloth, and the weomen with a Redd wrapped over their bodies[2]. I will incerte a litle tale, and soe proceede, which

[1] "Here [Benares] some bee burned to ashes, some scortched in the fire and throwne into the water, and Dogs and Foxes doe presently eate them." Fitch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, X. 178.

[2] This remark shows Mundy's acuteness of observation. A red shroud, varying in description, is usually employed in the case of married women who have left children, and a white shroud in all other

happened in Agra. There was a poore woman, whose husband being dead, shee resolved to burne with him, but not haveing soe much meanes to buy wood, and pay other expences, as Bramary[1], etts., neither would any body bestowe it on her, although shee begged it, shee embraceinge his body, threw herselfe with it into the River Gemina [Jamnā], and ended her life by water, being not of abillitie to doe it by fire.

I went into their Dewra [*deurā*] or Church, where within a raile was an Image [of Kālī] as black as a Cole, resemblinge a woman apparrelled in Silke, etts. Before it stood a Bramman [Brāhman] burninge incense to it, useinge certaine Gestures. Without stood the musick, *vizt.*, a kettle drum, 5 or 6 beateing on brasse platters, another bloweing in a great sea shell [*sankh*, conch] like a Triton[2], altogether makeinge a Tirrible noyse. This they continued whilest hee within made Incense[3], I say all theis were within the raile. The people without, in the meane tyme, fall groveling on the ground and worship. This lasted about ¼ of an howre, when there was a Curtaine drawne before the Image, as [?and] soe the Ceremony ended, As by the figure followinge[4].

This place by the Hindooes is called Cassee [Kāsī], and is of verie much esteeme and resorte (if not the

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cases, including men. See *Bombay Gazetteer*, IX. Pt. I. pp. 94, 162, 251, 481; Campbell, *Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, pp. 64 ff. I am indebted to Mr W. Crooke for these references. See also Della Valle, ed. Grey, I. 114—115, who, in describing the funeral of a woman at Cambay, says, "They carry the Corps wrapt in a cloth of Cit [chintz], of a red colour for the most part."

[1] This seems to be a copyist's error for "Bramany," *i.e.* fees due to the Brāhmans.

[2] The chank (*sankh*) or conch shell of the Indian Ocean and Bay of Bengal (*turbinella pyrum*) is used as a trumpet in Hindu temples. The Polynesian islanders utilize the *triton tritonis* similarly.

[3] Here is a marginal note—"Images and Ceremonyes, musick, manner of worshippinge."

[4] See Illustration No. 15.

cheifest in India) by the Hindooes for sanctitye, Pilgrimages, etts., Washinges, which must bee performed 40 mornings with a thousand Ceremonies by those that resort thither[1] (which is from all parts of India).

Fackeeres—what sorts—how they live and where.

Heere are Fackeeres [*fakīrs*], whereof some that have bene of great meanes, whoe for their devotion have renownced all, chuseinge voluntarie povertie. Of these Fackeers there bee sondry sorts, as Fackeers whoe are Mussellmen [Mussalmāns] or Moores [Muhammadans] and Hindooes, then Jooguees [*jogīs*], Ashemen[2], etts. [and other] Hindooes. They generally have noe trade, but live by what is given them, most of them travellinge from Countrie to Countrie. Others sett by the high wayes att the entrance in or goeing out of Townes or Citties and begg of passengers. Others amonge Tombes, there care beinge to looke to dicto tombes in keepeing them Cleane etts., alwaies amonge greene trees, many tymes a well by them, a litle garden, a Cabban [temporary shelter] and a Chowtree [*chabūtrā*][3] of earth, where they sitt. Wee have mett of theis on the way, the principall rideinge on horseback with a flagg and many Attendants, all Fackeeres, somme of them with long poles and a kinde of an Ensigne on it, as a Cowtaile [chowry][4], another with a mightie Crooked Copper Instrument in forme of a horne, with which they make a strange sound blowing in it. And most comonlie they goe in Companies, without any other weapons but staves (that I could see), and for the most

[1] Mundy is alluding to the daily bathing in the Ganges and other ceremonies enjoined during the month of Kārtik (November) at Benares. See Sherring, *Sacred City of the Hindus*, pp. 224—225.

[2] For "Gioghi" and "Ashmen," see Della Valle, ed. Grey, I. pp. 99, 105—108; Terry, pp. 264—265; Fryer, ed. Crooke, II. 35, 38.

[3] See *ante*, pp. 26, 101, 158.

[4] See *ante*, note on p. 158.

part every one a bunch of peacocks feathers in their hands[1], some with a Leopards skinne, which they sitt uppon. Ashmen are soe called by us, because they doe all their bodies over with ashes. Jooguees are another sort, comonly in Yallowish Clayish Coulored Clothes[2]. Wee have mett others with greate Chaines of iron about their midle, to which is fastned a broad plate of the same, which is made fast over their privities to take from them the use and very thought of weomen. They all weare their haire longe, made upp about their heads, whereof I have seene to contain two yards in length, but it is knotted and growne together. There are not soe many severall sorts as there are Customes. Some of them, when they would have any thinge, will stand right before you without speakeing untill you bidd them begone. Manye of them professe secretts in Medicine, etts., and some reputed holy; many tymes neere greate men. Abdulla Ckaun ['Abdu'llah Khān] being sundrie tymes put to the worst, disguised himselfe into one of theis Fackeeres, and by that meanes passed unknowne and saved himselfe[3]. Enough of all theis, for there is so much more to be said That I knowe not when

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[1] In Fryer's description of *fakīrs* (ed. Crooke, I. 240—242), he speaks of "one to wait on him with a Peacock's Tail."

[2] "*Jogī* or *Yogī*....They dress in various styles, but in travelling usually wear a cap of patchwork and garments dyed with red ochre." H. H. Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, p. 137. See also the same work, pp. 130—138, for an account of this class of wandering ascetic.

[3] Mundy appears to be alluding to one of two events in 'Abdu'llah Khān's life. In 1616 when he was governor of Ahmadābād, he was summoned to court in disgrace, and Sir Thomas Roe describes him as "comming in Pilgram's clothes with 40 servants on foote about 60 mile in Counterfeit humiliation." (Roe, ed. Foster, II. 278.) He was then pardoned by Jahāngīr at the intercession of Prince Khurram.

"In 1625 he left Prince Khurram and by means of Khān Jahān entered the King's service. It is said he adopted a fawning and humble attitude, wore a *farjī* like the Uzbeg darvishes, had a beard hanging down to his navel and came unarmed." (*Maāsiru'l Umarā*, "Abdu'llah Khān Firuz Jang," tr. Beveridge, in *J.A.S.B.* 1912.) I am indebted to Mr Beveridge for the latter part of this note.

I should make an end; And this that I have said is but superficiallye[1].

The 3d December 1632. (Mohun ca Sarae [Mohan Sarāī], 4 Course). Att our comeinge forth of Bunaroz [Benares], wee sawe a man hanginge by the heeles on a tree. His offence was this. This Kinge [Shāh Jahān] had commaunded that all Hindooe Churches made in his tyme should bee demolished[2], and for that purpose sent his firmaen [*farmān*] to this Governour[3], whoe sent his Couzin, with other principall men in Comission, to see it executed on one lately built. A Rashpoote [*rājpūt*], hearing of it, hid himselfe[4], and with a Comptee [*kamthā, kamthī*], or longe bowe provided for that purpose, seeinge his tyme, shott amongst them, killed the Gouvernours Couzin, and 3 or 4 more of the Cheifest, which was done on the suddaine. But being quickly found and sett upon, with his Jemdar [*jamdhār*] or dagger killed one or 2 more, and then was slaine himselfe and his body hanged on the tree as aforesaid.

The 4th December 1632. Heiderbeag [Haidar Beg] was governour of theis parts and resided heere (Baboo ke Sarae [Sarāī Bābū], 6 Course). It was the same wee mett in the way, as formerlye mentioned[5].

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[1] For other descriptions of religious mendicants, see Fitch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, X. 176; Bernier, pp. 316—322; Heber, *Narrative of a Journey from Calcutta to Bombay*, I. 283.

[2] "It had been brought to the notice of His Majesty [Shāh Jahān] that during the late reign many idol temples had been begun, but remained unfinished, at Benares, the great stronghold of infidelity. The infidels were now desirous of completing them. His Majesty, the Defender of the Faith, gave orders that at Benares, and throughout all his dominions in every place, all temples that had been begun should be cast down. It was now [1042 A.H., 1632 A.D.] reported from the province of Allahābād that seventy-six temples had been destroyed in the district of Benares." *Bādshāh-nāma*, p. 449, in Elliot, *Hist. of India*, VII. 36.

[3] Apparently Haidar Beg mentioned below.

[4] Here is a marginal note—"A desperate resolution."

[5] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 128.

The 5th December 1632. In our way wee passed through Anhoomohol ca Sarae [now Amwākanthā][1], and hard by the place where wee laye at our Cominge (Jegdis ca Sarae [Sarāī Jagdīs], 8 Course), Zeffe Ckaun [Saif Khān] had made a litle Fort of earth, wherein were sett certaine Souldiers to secure that passage[2]. Many Townes hereabouts destroyed; The Inhabitants fledd att his approach. Neere our Monzull [*manzil*, halting place] was an earthen Wall of $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile in Compasse, where hee laye incamped att his Comeinge this waye, beinge now in Johunpore [Jaunpur], which way Backur Ckaune [Bākir Khān] and Danshawes [Sultān Dānyāl's] daughter are gone to visitt him.

The 6th December 1632. After our Comeing to this place (Handeea [Hāndiya][3] 6 Course), there was a Crewe [of][4] Rusticks, all of them more then halfe drunck, there wives in litle better case, daunceinge, which was the celebration of the betrothinge of one of the Bettearees [*bhathiyārī*][5] Children, not 40 dayes old, to another litle Childe, and to be married in 2 yeares after[6]; It being the custome of all Hindooes in this Countrye to contract and marry their Children att 5, 6 and 7 yeres of age, and soe they live and goe together when they please without takeinge any more notice. If the husband die, shee is to burne with him, or to remaine ever a widowe in Contemptible manner, to Cutt their haire, not to weare Jewells, nor scarce accepted into good Companie, whereas otherwise shee shall have a monument built for her memorie. But since the Mogolls

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[1] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII., note on p. 115.

[2] Here is a marginal note—"Some effect of Zeffe Ckauns expedition."

[3] On the outward journey Mundy halted at "Barramal."

[4] This word is inserted from the *Harl.* copy.

[5] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII., note on p. 121.

[6] Here is a marginal note—"an early betrothinge."

comeinge burninge is worne out of date[1]. But if shee dye before him, then may hee marry againe[2], which is most Comonly another litle girle not above 10 or 11 yeres of age att most, although himself a man in full growth and strength[3]. The Ceremonies, which are divers, performed by a Braman [Brāhman]. The day of Solempnizeinge, hee rides about the Cittie in the greatest state they can performe upon an Eliphante (if hee can procure it), his head Crowned, and his face in a manner Covered with flowers, holding a Coconutt in his hand, all his freinds and acquaintance, as also their Children, accompanyinge him in their best apparrell on horseback and on foote, with all the musick and shew they can devise, as Trumpetts, drums, pipes, etts. Thus hee rides to the brides howse to fetch her home, and soe returne, shee beinge sent to him in a Dowlee [*dolī*], covered or otherwise[4].

This is also the manner of the Moores [Muhammadans], onlie they are most commonly men growne, the weomen as aforesaid of 9, 10, or 11 yeres of age, which they seldome passe and [remain] a virgin.

The 7th December 1632. Neare this place (Jussee [Jhūsī], 9 Course), on the Mango trees, Zeffe Ckaune [Saif Khān] had caused 50 or 60 mens heads to be hunge upp

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[1] See *ante*, *Relation* v. p. 35. Akbar discouraged *satī* and in 1620 the practice was prohibited by Jahāngīr under penalty of death to the partaker. See Gladwin, *Hist. of Hindostan*, p. 50.

[2] Here is a marginal note—"The mans priviledge."

[3] The end of this sentence is added in the MS. in Mundy's own writing.

[4] Here again Mundy shows close observation. The actual carrying of the cocoanut by the bridegroom during the public procession (*barāt*) is not recorded in set accounts of Hindu marriage ceremonies. But as the cocoanut enters largely into the ceremonies generally, owing to its protective properties against evil, it is quite likely that Mundy saw a bridegroom carrying one to insure his personal safety from the evil eye and other supernatural dangers. Mr W. Crooke has kindly sent me the following references:—Tod, *Rajasthān*, ed. 1884, I. 290; Campbell, *Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, p. 227; to which may be added Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, pp. 339 and 345.

by a stringe run through their noses, haveinge Compounded with the Raja of Buddoy [Bhadohī][1] for 200000 rupees. Other Rajaes there bee that have not submitted as yett, with whome haveing concluded, hee will returne to Ellahabaz [Allahābād].

The 8th December 1632. Wee crost Ganges, which now was not halfe soe broad as when wee left it, and lay in the Sarae (Ellahabaz, 1 Course).

The 9th December 1632. Passinge through Hoordeabad [Khuldābād][2] ([to] Allumchund ca Sarae [Alam Chand], 9 Course), I went once more to see Cosrooes [Khusrū's] tombe. It was now new painted and fitted. Most of our Mussellmen [Musalmān] servants offered to him, some flowers, some sweete meats. The former are throwne over his Tombe, but the latter the Preists take to themselves. Att his head is his Turbant, redd Couloured, with a sprigg of blacke feathers in it, and by it the Alcaron [Korān], on a little frame, in which hee was found readinge att his death[3].

The 10th December 1632. Wee Lodged in the Sarae (Shawzaadepore [Shāhzādpur], 6 Course).

The 11th December 1632. (Apphoy ca Sarae [Rāmpūr Aphoī], 6 Course). This morninge wee past by Muzraffe Ckauns Moholl [Muzaffar Khān's *mahal*, seraglio], goeinge to Peeran Putton [Pātan], himselfe beinge gone before for Governour thereof[4]. There were 100 Coaches att least. Hee, beinge but an ordinarie Amraw [*amīr*], is sayd to have 5 or 600 weomen. They had with them 7 or 8 Eliphants with drummes and Trumpetts.

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[1] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. pp. 109—110, for Saif Khān's quarrel with the people of Bhadohī.

[2] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 99

[3] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 100.

[4] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 132.

A Beast called a Rose.

One Course farther wee sawe a beast in forme of a deere, called heere Rose [*rojh*], whoe, while wee looked on him, came towards us, and tooke bread out of our hands, sufferinge himselfe to bee sleeked and stroked by us. Hee was neere 4½ foote high. His neck was worne bare. It seemes it belonged to the Kinge or some great man, which they use to drawe in Coaches for their pleasure, his hornes somewhat straight, and about 5 or 6 inches longe, coullour [iron-grey][1], white under the belly. Wee were faine to beat him from us before wee could bee ridd of him.

A Zunge what it is.

Neere to our Monzull [*manzil*] wee found a Zunge [*sang*] which is a Company of Hindowes gathered together goeing in Pilgrimage. Theis came from Sorett [Sorath in Kāthiāwār] a province, in number about 2000, with horses, tents, etts. accomodation, bound for Trepenny and Cassee [Trivenī[2] and Kāsī], which is Ellahabaz and Bunaroz [Allahābād and Benares]. They shave their heads and beards, and wash themselves cleane of all their sins, as they thinck, which is to be performed 40 mornings att each[3] (as it is said).

Gaja where they try their Legitimitation and in what manner.

Some of them from thence goe to Gaja [Gayā], a place 25 Course beyond Puttana, but those are only such whose

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[1] There is a blank here in the original. Mundy is describing the *nīlgāī* (*lit.* grey cow) or painted (also white-footed) antelope, the local name for which is *rojh* or *roz*. The male is of an iron-grey colour with white abdomen and legs. The female is much smaller and tawny coloured. This animal is often caught young and tamed.

[2] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII., note on p. 115.

See *ante*, note on p. 176.

parents are dead[1]. There they try their Legitimacye in this manner. There is a certaine narrowe Cleft in a Rock close to the ground (lyeinge levellwise), about 2 Coveds in length, and 1 Coved from goeing in to comeing out. Now those that passe through cleire are lawfully begotten and their parents accounted for good; but if otherwise, they say the stone closes in such manner that hee shall not bee able to stirr forward or backward, soe remaines defamed. The reason they goe not in their parents life tyme is because they will not bring their names in question. But whether it bee soe or noe, the Bramanes [Brāhmans], for a few pice [small copper coins], will soe direct them that they shall not neede to feare[2]. This by relation. Of theis kinde of people in Zunges I thinck wee have already mett this way above 100,000, the people of every province comeing in one Zunge [*sang*] or Companie. In the same manner doe they resort from other parts, lyeinge East, North and South: our Way lyeing Westward.

From Shawzaadepore [Shāhzādpur] came a Fowzdare [*faujdār*], whoe carried with him certaine Chowdrees or Cheifes of Townes [*chaudharī*, landholder, headman of a village] prisoners, because either they will not or cannot satisfie the Kings Imposition [taxation].

The 12th December 1632. Att our arrivall heere (Hategame [Hathgāon], 6 Course), wee found an other Zunge or Company bound on Pilgrimage as aforesaid.

The 13th December 1632. (Vellinda ca Sarae[3], 6 Course).

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[1] That is, for the *shrādh* ceremonies for the benefit of the spirits of deceased (Hindu) relatives.

[2] I have found no allusion to this cleft or rite at Gayā in any printed work, but Sir George Grierson tells me that Mundy is evidently referring to the Brāhm Jonī, a narrow cleft between two rocks on the top of the Brāhm Jonī hill near the city of Gayā. The legend of the Brāhm Jonī is that if a person can squeeze through it he leaves all his sins behind him and can start life afresh.

[3] Bilandā, or Sarāī Sayyid Khān. The *N. W. P. Gaz.* 1884, p. 97, is quite wrong in naming Sarbuland Khān, who died in 1679, as the eponymous founder. On the outward journey Mundy halted at Rāmpur Aphōī and Fatehpur instead of at Hathgāon and Bilandā.

In the morninge wee had thunder, and rayne all the day after, none theis 3 monethes till now. Wee mett a Company of Rashpoots [*rājpūts*], which wee tooke to bee horsemen, but they [the horses] proved all mares. What the reason is I know not, it being not usuall[1].

The 14th December 1632. (Bindukee ca Sarae [Bindkī Khās], 10 Course). To day wee had also much thunder and rayne.

The 15th December 1632. (Corura [Kora Khās], 6 Course). Nothinge worthie notice.

The 16th December 1632. Chupperguta [Chaparghatā], 15 Course). I departed from Corura, leaveing the Cart in Charge of Abdulla Careeme ['Abdu'l-Karīm][2], Malla [Mallā], etts., haveinge accompanied it hitherto, in regard of many passages of Rivers and places of daunger. But now, being cleire of all, I went before towards Agra to assist in what elce might concerne the Companies affaires, takeing with mee Sunderdas [Sundar Dās] and 2 or 3 servants, with Malla, my horsekeeper, to whome wee committed our beddinge and apparrell, which hee layed on an Oxe of his owne. This Oxe hee bought in Puttana [Patna] to carry a slave wench, which hee brought with him from Agra, for whome they say hee served 7 yeres. By the way shee proved with Child by him. The Oxe beinge unrulie, and hee being to come alonge with mee, and noe body to looke to the Oxe when hee was gone, shee sayd shee would rather come softe and faire [quietly and easily] after the Carte on foote then bee troubled with him, haveinge throwen her downe divers tymes. Upon the said Oxe was laden the best of our Apparrell etts. (it being

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[1] Here again we have an instance of Mundy's close observation of facts. The troop, if not Balūchīs, were riding mares only because they were on an expedition, marauding or punitive, which necessitated silence at night. Mares when in company are much quieter than horses or a mixed troop of mares and horses.

[2] Apparently the "ancient and trusty servitor" referred to in *Relation* XVII.

neere Christmas by which tyme wee hoped to bee in Agra), and wee proceeded to Gattumpore [Ghātampur], where wee baited, willinge him to goe before, and that wee would presently overtake him. This was about Noone, when thousands travelled too and fro in a Champion [champaign] Countrie. Wee made noe stay but followed him, yett sawe him not that day. The same night wee sent back to enquire after him, but noe newes.

The 17th December 1632. Wee went back to meete the Carte, immagininge his Oxe might have failed, and soe have stayed by the way, but hee was not there neither. In conclusion, wee could conceive noe lesse, but being tempted with the opertunitye, hee shifted himselfe out of the way withall, for that there is not the least thought that hee should bee robbed in that place, and att that tyme of the day. Hee had of mine to the valew of rupees 140 nearest, of Sunderdas rupees 52½, of our servants rupees 7, horse furniture (as Jinpost [*zīn-posh*, saddle-cloth] etts.) 6 rupees, besides 9 rupees hee oweth to the Company. Of all which litle satisfaction to bee expected, and his suertie as badd as himselfe. Hee was well acquainted with the wayes, as haveing formerly served in theis parts.

The 18th December 1632. (Shecundra [Sikandra], 13 Course). This morninge and yesterday it was soe cold, as I have not felt the like in India, but noe Ice that I could see, only a white hoare frost on grasse and Corne.

The 19th December 1632. (Buckever [Bakewar Khānpur], 19 Course). To the Munares of dead mens heads made by Abdulla Ckaun ['Abdu'llah Khān][1] are added since our comeinge this way by Furzand Ckaun [Farzand Khān][2] about 60 more with 35 or 40 heads a peece, lately killed.

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[1] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 90.

[2] Mundy means Bākir Khān. See *ante*, note on p. 166.

The 20th December 1632. (Raherbuns [Ahīrbans][1] ca Sarae). Neere Etaya [Etāwa] there was a new Munare a makeinge with a great heape of heads lyeing by them, ready to bee immortered. After I was past through, it was told mee the Kinge had sent thither two great Rynocerosses to bee kept and fedd, which I was then ignorant of, otherwise I had seene them, but now it was too late, it being neere night, and 5 or 6 course back.

The 21th December 1632. (Perozahad [Firozābād], 17 Course). Not anythinge more then ordinairie.

The 22th December 1632. Wee came to Agra (14 course), where I was loveinglye received by my good freinds Mr Fremlen and Mr Robinson[2], Mr Yard[3] being gon downe with the Caphila [*kāfila*] to which I was appoynted. And heere is an end of this tedious Journey to Puttana [Patna], haveing gon in our returne from thence 281¾ Course, which is 422⅝ miles. Agra lyes from Surat by my Judgment neere N.E. by E., and Puttana lyes from Agra neere about E., betwene all which places noe great difference in the manner of the Soyle, People, Language, Customes, Cattle, beasts, fowle, trees, fruites, Herbs, etts., only about Agra, it lyeing more to the North, I meane in

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[1] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII., note on p. 86.

[2] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII., note on p. 80, for John Robinson's election as a factor. In February 1633, when Mundy left Agra, Robinson remained as second of that factory. In 1634 he was at Surat desiring "further employment," having "outlived his contract." He appears to have changed his mind, for in December of that year he sailed for England with Captain Weddell as one of the Council on board the *Jonas*. During the voyage he ordered "the inhuman and unjust whipping" of Robert Griffin, an apprentice, for which action the sum of twenty marks was deducted from his wages by order of the Court of Committees. See *English Factories*, 1630—1634, pp. 282, 324; 1634—1636, pp. 58, 77, 86; *Court Minutes*, 1635—1639, p. 107.

[3] See *ante*, *Relation* V., note on p. 24, for John Yard's arrival in India. In February 1633 he was sent as assistant to Thomas Thimbleby to buy cotton goods at Broach (see *English Factories*, 1630--1633, p. 282), and there Mundy found him, as appears in *Relation* XVI.

the generall, although Suratt bee very neere 1000 miles distant from Puttana[1].

In our Returne from Puttana to Agra wee made it to bee $281\frac{3}{4}$ Course which is Miles, $422\frac{5}{8}$[2].

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[1] Tieffenthāler's estimate (III. 27, 140—142) of 1125 miles is nearer the mark than Mundy's, reckoning the route from Surat to Agra *viâ* Burhānpur.

[2] See *Relation* VIII. p. 137, where, in the outward journey Mundy's estimate was only $379\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Even with the additional 40 odd miles, his figures are much too low.

RELATION XIII[1].

DESCRIPTION OF THE GREAT MOGOLLS COMMINGE FROM BRAMPORE [BURHĀNPUR] (WHERE HEE LAY WARRINGE AGAINST DECAN)[2] UNTO HIS GARDEN CALLED DARREECABAAG AND SOE TO AGRA, AS FOLLOWETH.

The first June 1632. Myselfe, with Sunderdas [Sundar Dās], went towards Darree ca baag[3] to see the Kinge comeinge thither[4]. By the way, before wee could gett forth of the Cittie, wee were stopped and hindred by a great number of Eliphants, Cammells, Carts and Coaches laden with lumberment [baggage], which came from the laskerre [*lashkar*], or Campe, also many Coaches, Palanqueenes and doolees [*dolī*] with weomen.

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[1] *Relations* XIII. and XIV. are not in chronological order. They record events occurring prior to Mundy's journey to Patna and should therefore precede *Relation* VIII. But it is probable that Mundy amplified and completed his notes at a later date.

[2] The war in the Dakhan had been carried on against Khān Jahān Lodī, an important military leader in the reign of Jahāngīr, who had held a command there under Prince Parwīz. But after the latter's death he appears to have aimed at independence, and in January 1631 was killed in action with troops sent against him by Shāh Jahān. See Dow, *Hist. of Hindostan*, ed. 1812, III. 110—126; *Tarikhu'l-Khān Jahān Lodī*, in Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV. 537; V. 67; also VI. 323, &c., and VII. 8—20.

[3] Dehra Bāgh. See *Relation* XV. for remarks on this garden at Agra.

[4] "The Emperor being tired of his residence at Burhānpur, resolved to return to the capital; so he set out on the 24th Ramazān...and arrived there on the 1st Zi'l-hijja, 1041 A.H. [1631 A.D.]." Elliot, *Hist. of India*, VII. 31.

The Coaches in this Countrie are generally drawne with Oxen, never above 2 to a Coach, which hath but 2 wheeles, in all things resembling a litle Carte, the Cover excepted, which is like to that of a Coach in England[1].

A Palanqueene is a thing to bee carried on mens sholders, 6 or 8 att a tyme, haveing a long and grosse bamboo, used by great men and weomen, spacious enough to lye alongst. Dowlees [*dolī*] are of the same manner but not one third soe big, carried only by 2 men, wherein only one person may conveniently sitt crosse legg'd, comonly imployed for weomen closely covered.

Wee came to the Nacassee[2], where they sell horses, camells, oxen, etts. There wee overtooke Zefdar [Safdar Khān] Ckhaun, Governour of Agra[3], whoe went out to meete and doe his reverence to the Kinge; hee is an Amraw [*amīr*] of 4000 horse. To bee of 3 or 4000 horse is thus. Hee whom the Kinge appoynts of that number is to take the pay of soe many out of the revenewes (due to the Kinge of that Countrie whereof hee is made Governour), for his maintenance as alsoe to bee ready with the said number of horse where and whensoever the King shall have occasion to use them. The pay of each horse is [25] rupees per [month]. This as I am informed[4].

It is said the aforesaid Governour brought now his compleat number with him. Before him certaine great

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[1] For contemporary descriptions of "Indian coaches," see Fitch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, x. 174; Della Valle, ed. Grey, i. p. 21; and Mandelslo, p. 29.

[2] *Nakhās*, a daily fair or market for horses and cattle, and slaves. See De Laët, tr. Lethbridge, p. 70.

[3] Safdar Khān, Khwāja Kāsim, was made Governor of Agra in the 4th year of Shāh Jahān, 1630—1631.

[4] There are blanks in the MS. The words added in brackets are taken from Mundy's statement regarding Mīrzā Zū'lkarnain in *Relation* xvi., *infra*, p. 240. In Akbar's time a one-horse trooper was paid from Rs. 30 to Rs. 12 per month. See Bernier, ed. Constable, p. 215 *n.* See also Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 3—27.

Eliphants with flaggs[1], then some light Camells whoe are used to bee sent on matters of haste[2]. They will travell by report 70 ordinarie Course a day. Then 60 or 80 other Cammels fitted [arrayed], each carrieinge one gunne, whose bullett might bee 5 or 6 inches about.

Thus hee past on untill hee came neere to Darree ca baag [Dehra Bāgh], and there hee stayed, but wee went forward, meeteing first by the way about 150 Cammells with Cojavas [*kajāwā*, camel-pannier], covered with redd, in one Companie, one followeing Close to the other. Theis Carried slave weomen and servants, attendants on other weomen. A paire of Cojavas resemble a greate paire of Panniars, in which may sitt two on each side. After theis followed a multitude of Eliphants and Cammells laden with Luggage, as Tents, Chests, beddinge, etts. Then about 160 or 170 Eliphants carrieing on their backs Ambarees [*'amārī*, *ambārī*, a howdah with a canopy], close covered, some with redd, others with greene, blewe, etts. [and other] Coullours. Theis belonged to the kinge and certaine Amrawes [*umarā*], there being in each of theis att least 4 weomen.

An Ambarree is just like a litle Coach made fast with strong ghirsees and ropes[3] on the Eliphants backe, standing on packsadles or things of purpose, att least a foote above his Chine, which is a great hight from the ground.

Wee also mett a Chowndoolee[4] carried betwene two

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[1] "Every Eliphant had divers flages of Cloth of silver, guilt satten and taffata." Roe, ed. Foster, p. 324. See also *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, I. 126—130.

[2] Here is a marginal note—"Post Cammells or Dromedares." The last two words are in Mundy's own writing.

[3] "Ghirsees" is apparently a copyist's error for "ghirnees" (*ghirnī*, a pulley).

[4] *Chandol*, *chandolī*, *chaundolī*, a sedan with two poles. Compare Bernier, ed. Constable, p. 371, "The Princesses and great ladies of the Seraglio have also different modes of travelling. Some prefer tchaudoules [*chandolīs*] which are borne on men's shoulders."

Eliphants in manner of a litter, in which went Zeffer Ckauns [Saif Khān's] wife, sister to Tagemohol [Tāj Mahal[1]], the late deceased Queene, both daughters to Asaph Ckaun [Asaf Khān]. The 4 sides were covered with Cusse [*khas-khas*, the roots of] a certaine hard, sweete smelling grasse, woven on Canes and to shew on the outside, just like our thatch in England, makeing fast therein a little earth and barley, soe that throwing water on the outside, it cawseth the Inside to bee verie Coole by the strikeing of the Ayre thereon; and also in few dayes cawseth the barley to spring out, pleasaunt to see to. In Agra men of qualitie, in tyme of heat, have little roomes accomodated after that manner called Ckusse Connaes [*khas-khāna*], where they sitt Coole[2], haveing also a great artificiall fanne of linnen, which hanges downe from aloft, and by pulling from without side, it swings forward and backward cawseing a great deale of ayre within side[3]. Of theis Ckusse Connaes wee have one att the English howse. There bee also hand fanns of all sizes, whereof some are used in the Chowndowlees and Ambarres before mentioned. Before and behinde the Chowndowlees aforesaid were many Palanqueenes, Doolees, etts., Capons [eunuchs] or gelded men on horseback, besides a guarde of Gunners, sufferinge none to approach any thing neere them. The manner whereof I have expressed by figure, Also underneath, others that I saw els where, soe that there are in all 11 severall wayes how weomen kinde are transported [carried about, or travel] in India[4], besides others, of which few [are] used amongst us, *Vizt.*,

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[1] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII., note on p. 108.

[2] See Bernier's description of "kas-kanays," ed. Constable, p. 247.

[3] This passage is important as the earliest *clear* reference to the use of the modern European punkah by a traveller. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Punkah.

[4] See Illustration No. 12.

[Mundy's Description of Illustration No. 12.]

1. Letter A. A woman must bee conceived to bee with Child, where it is Carried 9 monethes to and fro.
2. B. A slave wench or servant carrieinge a Child astride over her side, which is the usuall manner of carrieing of children.
3. C. A little Girle when shee is brought to her husband; theis but seldome used.
4. D. Weomen of the poorer sort, with a Jewell in her nose and shackells about her feete, rideing astride on an Oxe, which I have heere sett forth as they adorne them in their Coaches, *Vizt.*, a great Coller of Cocker [cockle-shell] bells, almost as bigg as henns eggs, a frontlett of Netting worke and beads, their hornes tipte with brasse etts., this sometymes.
5. E. A woman of the better fashion on Horseback astride, quite covered over from head to foote with linnen; before her Eyes a Nettinge worke or Grateinge to see through.
6. F. Dowlees [*dolī*].
7. G. Palanqueenes.
8. H. Coaches.
9. I. Cojavas [*kajāwā*].
10. K. Ambarrees [*ambārī*].
11. L. Chowndoolees [*chaundolī*].

Theis 6 latter are more particularly before described.

Wee passed onward where wee might see all the other high wayes leadinge to the Cittie full also of Eliphants, Cammells, Coaches, etts. Att length wee were informed whereabout the king was himselfe; for all the face of the earth, soe farr as wee could see, was covered with people, troopes of horses, Eliphants, etts., with innumerable flaggs small and greate, which made a most gallant shew; for it is the Custome of every perticuler great man to goe with a

great many of theis flaggs carried before him, there being many of the said great men now joyned together.

The first that I remember to have mett was about 20 Coaches for the Kinges owne use, whereof 2 only were drawne by 2 horses. Each of theis they call Kechees [*kachhī*][1], very swifte, the rest by Oxen some of Extraordinarie greatnes, and some againe as little, chosen of purpose. Then thousands of horsemen goeing breadthwise; then came about 19 or 20 great Eliphants of state[2] with coverings and furniture; most of them of Cloth of gold, the rest of rich stuffe, velvetts, &c.; some of them carryeinge a flagg with the kings Armes, which is a Tygar couching [lion couchant] with the Sunne riseinge over his backe[3]. One of theis was richer adorned than the rest, his fore ornaments of gold and the hinder of silver, beinge great plates, bosses, chaines, bells, etts. On this was an Ambaree where the Kinge might sitt when hee pleased, over which was a Cannopie of most rich Cloth of gold supported with pillars. There were divers others also fitted [arrayed] for his owne rideinge. Theis Eliphants went about 2 [arrows] flight shott before him. Then came Etimans[4] or officers

[1] See *ante*, *Relation* VI., note on p. 53.

[2] Here is a marginal note—"Eliphants royall."

[3] Mundy is attempting to describe one of the *'alam* or standards, forming part of the *kūr* (or collection of royal ensigns) carried before the Emperor on days of festivity and in battle. See *Āīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, I. 50 and Plate IX; Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 31—33.

[4] This word is apparently not found in any other European writer on the Mogul Court. It is really *sāhib-ihtimām*, "possessing responsibility," and was used of the Court ushers. It is so used in the plural form, *sāhib-ihtimāmān*, in circumstances which place the sense beyond doubt. Mr Beveridge sends me a reference to Gladwin's *Persian Munshī*, ed. 1801, p. 47, giving a description of the Court of Shāh Jahān in the following terms, as translated:—"In every quarter between the inner and outer balustrades are stationed active meer toozaks [*mīr-tūzakān*, masters of ceremonies] and Jasawals [*yasāwalān*, 'gold and silver Sticks'] bearing wands of gold and silver." But the Persian text has *mīr-tūzakān u sāhib-ihtimāmān u yasāwalān*, masters of ceremonies, pursuivants (marshals) and "gold and silver sticks." In Streynsham Master, ed. Temple, II. 58, the word "jassooal" occurs, as a Court officer at Dacca in 1676. The word in that instance is rightly translated but wrongly derived.

with silver staves, on horseback and on foote, to make roome. Then came the kinge himselfe mounted on a darke gray horse, and with him Mohabutt Ckaun [Mahābat Khān] on horsebacke also, rideing side by side. A litle distance behinde rode his eldest sonne Daroo Shuckur [Dārā Shikoh] all alone, All the rest of the Amrawes or Lords on foote, before and behinde, and on each side of him. A good Space off, halfe a flight shott behinde the Kinge, came the Cohouree [*kūr*, *kūrī*, armed retinue][1] or, as I may call it, the maine battaile (all the rest beinge but as squadrons to this), heere beinge a mightie multitude of horsemen, the head of whose lawnces (being verie longe, broad and cleane) glittered most brightly against the Sunne, Then the greate number of Eliphants belonging to the Amrawes, haveinge each of them five or six flaggs fastned alofte, made as gallant a shewe with their number and diversitie of Coulours. All theis moveinge in one, on soe many huge Eliphants seemed like a fleete of shipps with flagg and streamers. Close to theis came as great number of other Eliphants, each of them carrieinge two small feild peeces ready mounted, Soe that all theis together made a most majesticall, warlike and delightsome sight, besides the continuall carreeringe of horsemen (sometymes troopes together over the plaines); the Comon people in a manner without number, as aforesaid. And in this manner hee came to his garden of Darree ca baag, where hee entred and remained there till the Tenth currant [June 1632], when about Midnight, close shutt up in a Palanqueene, hee was brought to his Castle of Agra[2] about 2 miles from the Garden.

The reason of his Comeing in att that hower is that the Kinge and great men have Wizards [astrologers], whoe are Comonly Bramanes [Brāhmans] or Mullaes [*mullāhs*],

[1] See *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, I. 109—110.

[2] The *mahal* or palace, not the fort. Both buildings are described by Mundy in *Relations* XIV. and XV.

No. 13. A PROGRESS OF SHĀH JAHĀN IN 1632

(Moore [Muhammadan] preists). Theis doe calculate such dayes and howers as are fortunate or unluckie, soe that they will not undertake any Journie, or begin any enterprize of purport[1], but on such a Tyme as shalbe delivered them by the said Wizards.

I have also by figure demonstrated in some manner the Kings approach to Darreecabaag, when he came from Brampore [Burhānpur] as aforesaid, wherein some thinges are incerted, not mentioned in the Relation, and some thinges there mentioned are heere omitted. It is, as I remember, somewhat more or lesse, as on the other side.

[Mundy's description of Illustration No. 13.]

A. The Great Mogoll Shaw Jehan [Shāh Jahān], on horsebacke.
B. Mohabutt Ckaun [Mahābat Khān], on horseback alsoe.
C. Daroo Shuckur [Dārā Shikoh], the king's eldest Sonne, on horseback.
D. A quitasol [umbrella] over the kings head. And excepting this tyme I sawe none used, either in Agra nor betwene it and Suratt, by any great men or others, but, as before mentioned, betwene Agra and Puttana frequently carried, especially by the poorest sort[2].
E. Amrawes [*umarā*] or Lords on foote behinde and before the Kinge.
F. Etimanes [*ihtimām*][3] or Marshalls to make way.
G. Trumpetters.
H. Great Copper Kettle Drummes on Eliphants backs, and other lesser on Cammells.
I. Eliphants royall with the Imperiall Armes.

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[1] The *Harl.* copy has "importe."
[2] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 126.
[3] See *ante*, note on p. 193.

K. Ditto with rich Ambarees for his own rideinge.

L. The Cohouree [*kūrī*] or maine battaile, being most Rashpootes [*rājpūts*], Mohabutt Ckauns [Mahābat Khān's] Souldiers.

M. Eliphants belonginge to Sundrie Amrawes fitted with such kinde of Flaggs.

N. A Cahare [*kahār*] mentioned in Relation [VIII.] fol. [50][1].

O. A Palanqueene carried on a great bamboo or Cane, cawsed artificially to growe Crooked in that manner[2], worth 2 or 300 rupees a peece for their lightnesse and gentle bendinge.

P. A Souldier on horseback with his leather buckler with broad round iron Nailes, his bowe and Quiver att his Sadle, his sword by his side, his lawnce in his hand, which from this marke * to the same againe is iron and steele. The Manes of some of their horses for more braverye [adornment, embellishment] are plated with silke strings made for that purpose, haveing small Tassells att the end of severall Coulours.

One that Carries a Coosdan [*koshdān*], a Case with a Gorgolett [goglet] of Water[3], the other a broad fanne of feathers.

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[1] There are blanks here in the MS. See *ante*, p. 114. In the illustration N. is indicated by a cross (+) and a star (*).

[2] For the bending of the bamboo while growing, for carrying purposes, see Fryer, ed. Crooke, I. 97 and II. 74. See also Della Valle, ed. Grey, I. 183; Tavernier, ed. Ball, I. 46.

[3] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 114.

RELATION XIV[1].

THE GREATE MOGOLL SHAWE JEHAN HIS RIDEINGE TO BUCKREE EEDE, HIS COURT, MARRIAGE OF HIS TWO SONNS, FAVOURITS, ETTS.

19*th June* 1632. The kinge went to cellebrate Buckree Eede [Bakar'īd] as much to say as the feast of Goates, which the Moores observe in memory of Abraham, when hee sacrifised, I say when hee went to sacrifize, his Sonne (but whether Isaack or Ishmaell I enquired not, it being a question)[2], and in his leiw offered upp a Goate (as they say)[3].

Hee came rideinge on a Royall Eliphant in a rich Ambaree [*ambārī*]; over his head a Cannopie of Cloth of

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[1] In the *Harl.* copy this *Relation* is a continuation of the last (*Relation* XIII. in the *Rawl. MS.*), the headline being "The Mogolls ryding through Agra at Buckree Eede and sitting in the Amcasse etts."

[2] Compare Mandelslo, p. 54: "The Mahumetans of those parts [Agra &c.] celebrate also another Feast in the moneth of June, in memory of the sacrifice of Abraham, at which they kill Hee-Goats."

'Idu'l-Azhā, feast of sacrifices, commonly known in India as Bakar'īd or the feast (sacrifice) of cattle, is one of the most prominent annual festivals of the Muhammadans. It is held on the 10th of Zu'l-Hijja, the month of the pilgrimage, in allusion to part of the rites during the pilgrimage to Mecca. It commemorates the sacrifice of Isaac (Is-hāk) by Abraham (Ibrāhīm), or, as the Muhammadans say, of Ishmael (Ismā'il). See Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, pp. 192—194. In India there is always a popular confusion as to the animal sacrificed, owing to the Hindu beliefs as to the sacredness of the cow. *Bakrī* in Hindī is a generic term for "goat"; *bakara* is of Arabic origin and means "cattle."

[3] The *Harl.* copy has "when he went to sacrifize, his sonne Isaack, in whose roome he found a Goate, as they say."

gold supported with pillars, as formerly mentioned[1]. With himselfe satt 3 of his sonns[2]. As hee passed, hee flunge gold amonge the people.

First passe the Eliphants royall, adorned as aforesaid[1], more especially one whome hee doth greatly affect (apperteyninge to his father Jehangueere [Jahāngīr]), which had on it great quantitie of gold[3], *vizt.*, on his head a frontlett [*pakhar*, elephant armour] of gold with Jewells, and att his eares were also hung two tailes [*kutās*] of certaine kine [Tibetan yak] in India, much estimated[4], alsoe about his feete shackles and Cocker [cockle shell] bells of Gold [*pāi ranjan*]. His teeth were alsoe adorned with rings [*bangrī*] and Tassells of Silke and gold, which were never Cutt, being of a great length, besides which, of all those I have seene, which were verie many, there was not one, whose teeth were of length, uncutt. I have heretofore shewed the reason of it[5], this being alwaies excused from fightinge.

Next came many horses whoe were ledd, with rich

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[1] See *ante*, *Relation* XIII. pp. 190, 193.

[2] Dārā Shikoh, Sultān Shujā' and Aurangzēb.

[3] Here is a marginal note—"Eliphants royall whereof one extraordinarily sett forth." This elephant is probably the one mentioned by Roe in 1616 (*Embassy of Sir T. Roe*, ed. Foster, I. 252—253) among Jahāngīr's "Lord Eliphants...having all the plates on his head and breast sett with rubyes and Emeraldes, beeing a beast of a woonderfull stature and beauty." See Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 178—179, for *khāsah* (special) elephants; and for the various terms for their trappings, see *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, I. 126—130.

[4] "Kow tailes in great request" in "Tartarie...they use to hang them for braverie upon the heads of their Elephants." Fitch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, X. 184.

"The great Lords have Saddles and Housses [saddle-cloths] Embroadered and set Sometimes with Pretious Stones...But the finest Ornament, though of less cost, is made of six large flying tassels of long white Hair, taken out of the Tails of wild Oxen that are to be found in some places of the Indies [Tibet, Himalayas]. Four of these large tassels fastened before and behind to the Saddle, hang down to the ground, and the other two are upon the Horses head; so that when the Rider spurs his Horse to a full speed, or if there be any wind, these tassels flying in the Air, seem to be so many wings to the Horse, and yield a most pleasant prospect." Thévenot, Part III. pp. 44—45.

[5] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 128.

furniture, with bowes and quivers of arrowes fast to the Sadle[1]. Then nine or ten Pallanqueenes, some of whose Bumbooes with which they are carried were plated with gold, the rest of the work suitable. After theis came 12 paire of Copper Drummes [*damāmā*] on 12 Eliphants, the heads of some of them are 4 foote dyameter, covered with redd Cloth, which they [the drummers] went beatinge a leasurely stroake, jumpeing altogether [striking exactly together]. With theis went the Trumpetts [*karanā*] of att least 8 foote longe and 1½ broad att the [pummell][2] or end, with which they make a base [bass], hoarse hollow sound, neither riseinge nor fallinge[3]. After theis came many Ensignes, In some manner resemblinge those I sawe att Constantinople[4], beinge sundrie figures of gold and silver upon long staves covered with the same, which were carryed upright, *vizt.*, a hand, a great Ball, a Serpents head, a Falcon, etts., and such like[5]. Next to theis came Amrawes [*umarā*] on horsebacke, then the Kinge on his Eliphant as aforesaid, then Asaph Ckaun [Asaf Khān] on an Eliphant alsoe; then againe other great Amrawes on horses and Eliphants[6]; soe that I conceive when the Kinge is on horseback then the Amrawes goe on foote (excepte some one or other through favour permitted to ride neere him), but when that hee is on his Eliphant then they ride on horseback.

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[1] Here is a marginal note—"Horses of State."

[2] There is a blank here in the original. The *Harl.* copy has "pummell" corrected in Mundy's own writing to "pannell." He seems to mean "pommel," the rounded projecting part at the mouth of the instrument.

[3] See *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, I. 50, and Plate VIII. for musical instruments used in the Mogul court.

[4] See vol. I. p. 65. The *Harl.* copy has—"Such as are painted in Romane battailes."

[5] These are the *'alam* or standards, generally five, carried before the Emperor during a progress. See *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, I. 50, and Plate IX.

[6] See Mandelslo's account of "The Mogul's ordinary retinue," p. 52.

Soe having passed on and performed his devotion, hee returned in the same manner, haveinge not stayed above ¾ of an hower.

25*th June* 1632. I went to the Amcasse [*'ām-khās*][1] in the Castell[2], a place where every day, about 9 a Clock in the morninge, the kinge sitts in a Jarooca [*jharokhā*][3] or windowe some two howers, and in the afternoone hee sitts as longe atte his windowe to the river side. The place where hee sitts out in the morninge Jetts [juts] out some 7 or 8 foote from the wall, supported with pillars, encompassed with a raile, made grateing wise, plated with silver the thicknes of a half Crowne, they say, as high as a man, and in length about 45 or 50 yards, under which and within the said raile stand the Amrawes, for they are not suffered to sitt before the Kinge (noe not an Ambassadour), the windowe some 4 yardes highe. Without the silver raile is an other of wood, some 50 yardes out into the great square Courte[4]. In the forenoone the king sitts to heere any Complaintes, to doe Justice, to conferr with his Amrawes[5],

[1] *'Am-khās*, lit. public and private (audience) chamber: the *diwān-i-'ām* or hall of public (general) audience.

[2] The fort built by Akbar in 1571.

[3] See Roe (ed. Foster, I. 106) for a description of the *jharokhā* or interview window. See also Sarkar, *Daily Life of Shāh Jahān* (in *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*), p. 165, who says that the hour for appearing before his subjects was 6.45 a.m.

[4] "The hall of public audience is separated by two balustrades: within the first rail none but persons of high rank are admitted; all other servants of the crown are allowed to pass the second rail; and the multitude stand without side. Formerly both rails were of wood; but now [1615] the inner one was ordered to be made of Silver, as well as the stairs to ascend from thence to the Jerokha." Gladwin, *Hist. of Hindostan*, pp. 27—28.

Compare also Mandelslo, pp. 46—47: "There is a passage through this Hall [the Guard Hall] into a paved Court, at the further end whereof there is, under a Portall, a row of Silver Pillars, where there stands a particular Guard which keeps the people from getting within it, and permits only the Great Lords that belong to the Court to enter there."

[5] Compare Deilon, *Supp.* p. 31: "The Great Mogul sets aside every day two hours for publick Audience, and dispensing of Justice to his Subjects, in the presence of the Great Lords of his Court, who stand by with their Hands cross their Stomachs."

And in the afternoon to behold pastime as fighting of Eliphants etts.

The Mohol [*mahal*, palace] joynes to one side of the Amcasse, to which hee goes and comes from his said state[1]. It is the place where his weomen are kept, and where noe man enters but himselfe, haveinge Euenuches to looke to them. Heere hee spends most of his tyme eateinge, drinckeing, sleepinge, etts.

Neere to the said Moholl is the Gosull Conna [*ghusl khāna*] where hee calls whome hee pleaseth to conferr in private, as alsoe to recreate, or to be merrie when and with whome hee pleaseth[2].

Marriage of two of the Kings sonnes 1632 [1633].

In February [1633] the eldest and second sonns to the kinge were both married within 8 dayes one of the other, first Daroo Shuckoore [Dārā Shikoh], the eldest to the Sultan Parvaez [Parwīz] his daughter, hee about 17 and shee about 14 yeres of age; And Sultan Sooja [Shujā'] to the daughter of Rustum Candahare [Rustam Kandahārī], both younger then the other Twoe[3]. I leave what past within the Castle, as giveinge of rich presents on all sides

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[1] Mundy is apparently alluding to Akbar's palace. The alterations and additions made by Shāh Jahān were scarcely begun in 1632. See Keene, *Handbook to Agra*, pp. 11—22; Latif, *Agra*, pp. 74—99; Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 590.

[2] The *ghusl-khāna*, lit. (Akbar's) bath-room, was used as a place for intimate audience and commonly called *dīwān-i-khās*. Compare Mandelslo, p. 49: "The Council sits in the Night, from seven of the clock till nine, in a Hall, which they call Gasalcan"; see also Pelsart, pp. 2, 18.

[3] Dārā Shikoh was born in March 1615 and his brother Shujā' in the following year. Dārā married Nādira Bānū Begam, daughter of Sultān Parwīz. Shujā's bride was a daughter of Mīrzā Rustam Safavī, prince of Kandahār, younger brother of Mīrzā Husain Muzaffar. For a notice of Mīrzā Rustam, who died in 1643, see *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, I. 314, 619.

Mr Beveridge tells me that the actual dates of the marriages, according to 'Abdu'l-Hamīd, are 1 Feb. and 23 Feb. 1633. Mundy left Agra for Surat on the 25th February.

with other Cerimonies[1], only each Couple had two nights of fireworkes, longe beforehand fittinge and prepareinge, the first night when hee goes to see her, and the next night when shee is brought home to him, being married in the Interim. In breife the manner was thus.

On the Strand by the River side, under the Castle wall and the Kinges windowe, there was a place Rayled in, about half a mile in Compasse att least. In it were placed the fireworkes, *vizt.*, first a ranck [row] of great Eliphants, whose bellies were full of squibbs, Crackers, etts. Then a ranck of Gyants with wheeles in their hands, then a ranck of Monsters, then of Turretts, then of Artificiall trees, etts. [and other] Inventions, all full of Rocketts, etts., as was the raile round about. All theis being fired (although not att one tyme) innumerable were the Rocketts, reports, squibbs and Crackers that flewe about and alofte in the Ayre, makeinge the night like day[2]. The noyse was as terrible. Also I think there were noe lesse then a million of lights burninge in the meane tyme, as Characks [*chirāgh*, an earthen lamp], Lanthornes, Lampes, etts. fastned and placed in rancks one above another on the Castle wall, with turretts etts. edifices, in a manner cleane Covered with them from the ground to the Topp, *vizt.* 3 or 4 rancks of small and a ranck of great lights, and then small and then great againe; alsoe a great part of the plaine covered with Lamps. Mee thought it made a brave and pleasant shew, the Kinge himselfe beinge present with the married Couples in their severall roomes. Heere was Cost and Labour enough, but it wanted it may bee the Arte wee have in Europe of those kinde of workes.

The Great Mogolls or kings daughters are never suffered

[1] For the Imperial presents at these two marriages, see *Companion of an Empress* (Sirkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, pp. 153—154); and for the festivities, see Elliot, *Hist. of India*, VII. 142.

[2] See Mandelslo's description of a firework display at Ahmadābād in 1638 (p. 38).

to marrie (as I am informed), being an auntient Custom[1]. This Shaw Jehan [Shāh Jahān], amonge the rest, hath one named Chiminy Beagum, a verie beautifull Creature by report, with whome (it was openly bruited and talked of in Agra) hee committed incest, being verie familiar with him many tymes in boyes apparrell, in great favour and as great meanes allowed her[2].

I have els where made mention of Asaph Ckaun [Asaf Khān], Mohabutt Ckaun [Mahābat Khān] and Nooremohull [Nūr Mahal]. I will incert some few lynes concerninge them, which are heere put for [esteemed as] Favourites or rather great ones att Courte.

Asaph Ckaun[3] [Asaf Khān] was Sonne to Etmad Dowlett [I'timādu'ddaula], brother to Nooremohol [Nūr Mahal] and father to Tagemohol [Tāj Mahal]. The former was wife to Jehangueere [Jahāngīr] and the latter to Shaw Jehan [Shāh Jahān]. [Asaf Khān is] a principall favourite and a pollitique Courtier, Although upon the letting of an Amraw [*amīr*] escape, whome the kinge sent him to

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[1] Compare Bernier, p. 12: "The marriage of a Princess" is "of rare occurrence in Hindoustan, no man being considered worthy of royal alliance; an apprehension being entertained that the husband might thereby be rendered powerful, and induced perhaps to aspire to the crown."

[2] Chamanī Begam, Princess Flowerbed, a new name apparently for Jahānārā Begam, also called Begam Sāhib, Shāh Jahān's much favoured eldest daughter (1614—1682). See Bernier, ed. Constable, p. 11 and *fn.* for repetitions of the current scandalous story repeated by Mundy, and Manucci, ed. Irvine, I. 217, for a contradiction of it. For Begam Sāhib's wealth and influence, see the same authors; also Sarkar, *Companion of an Empress* (in *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*), p. 153. For Jahānārā's tomb at Delhi, see Carr Stephen, *Archaeology of Delhi*, pp. 108—109. Shāh Jahān had also a daughter called Chamanī (popularly Chimnī) Begam, who died in 1616, in her grandfather's lifetime (see *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, p. 326). Jahānārā may have taken her sister's fancy name after her death.

[3] This and the two following paragraphs are found at the end of the next *Relation* in the *Harl.* copy and are introduced as follows: "I had here made an end but that I remember I have mentioned Asaph Ckaun, Mohabutt Ckaun and Nooremohol, of whome I will onely speake a fewe words and then conclude."

apprehend, hee was put to open disgrace, beinge made to ride throughe the Cittie in weomens attyre[1].

Mohabutt Ckaun [Mahābat Khān] was the next great one att Court. Theis Two stood next the Kinge [Shāh Jahān] when hee came into the Amcasse [*'ām-khās*], the one on his right hand, the other on his lefte, standinge on silver stooles a foote high from the rest, both powerfull, insomuch as the Kinge in a manner dares not displease them. This [Mahābat Khān] the better Souldier, whoe, upon some affronts offered him, beat upp his drumms and departed Agra. The kinge [Jahāngīr] persueinge him, was by him taken prisoner (although used with respecte) and soe was Asaph Ckaun, but disgracefully handled, as they say, beaten with shooes, kept in Irons and carried about with him a longe tyme from place to place. Att length hee was alsoe sett free, upon mediation of the kinge, Nooremoholle [Nūr Mahal], etts. In conclusion, the Kinges power encreased and Mohabutt Ckaun gott him[self] out of the way, repaireinge to Sultan Ckorum [Khurram] in Decan [Dakhan] and never left him till hee brought him to Agra, where hee became King by Asaph Ckauns and this mans helpe, the one att home the other abroad doeing their endeavour[2]. Shaw Jehan haveing of late bene against

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[1] I have found no confirmation of this story. For Hawkins' account of the punishment of cowards, see Purchas, ed. Maclehose, III. 43.

Mīrzā Abu'l Hasan obtained the title of Asaf Khān in 1614. He died at Lahore in 1641. "He had risen to a rank and dignity which no servant of the state had ever before obtained." Elliot, *Hist. of India*, VII. 68—69.

[2] Mundy is here alluding to the events of the closing years of Jahāngīr's reign. Early in 1626, Zamāna Beg, generally known as Mahābat Khān, who had been made Khān Khānān, became alarmed at the increasing supremacy of Nūr Mahal, Jahāngīr's favourite wife. In order to withdraw the Emperor from her influence and that of Asaf Khān, her brother, Mahābat Khān seized the king and carried him to his own tents, where he kept him as a state prisoner. Asaf Khān, who fled to Attock, also fell into his hands. No details are extant as to the treatment to which Asaf Khān was subjected, but there is doubtless good foundation for Mundy's statement, as for some

Decan, came thence, leaving Asaph Ckaun, whoe also came away, both of them effectinge nothinge[1]. Soe Mohabutt Ckaun was sent, whoe had already gotten the stronge Castle of Douletabad [Daulatābād], their Chiefest place, and much of their Countrie, entringe farther upon them dayly[2]. His Army consists of Rashpootes [*rājpūts*] Launcemen on horseback, whome hee much affectes, haveinge with them atcheived many exployts[3].

Nooremohol [Nūr Mahal], sister to Asaph Ckaun [Asaf Khān], was first wife to [Sher-afgan Khān][4] an Amrawe, and being in Rebellion was slaine in battaile where shee also was taken prisoner[5], as they say, on an Eliphant fightinge and encourageinge, whoe being

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months Mahābat Khān practically ruled the Mogol Empire. Then Jahāngīr escaped from his tutelage and it was subsequently found advisable to release Asaf Khān. Mahābat Khān was sent in pursuit of Prince Khurram, whose cause he espoused as related by Mundy. For a connected account of these events, see *English Factories*, 1624—1629, pp. xvii—xix.

[1] In Jan. 1632 the English factors at Surat wrote to Persia: "This base Kinge contynueth ungratfully his warrs on Decan and prosecuteth them most wilfully, tho the famine and their good successe hath hitherto made him much the looser. Now lately he hath sent Asaph Caun upon them (against his will) with 40 or 50,000 horse; which will be to little purpose." *English Factories*, 1630—1633, pp. 196—197.

"Affairs in the Dakhin had not been managed so well as they ought to have been by 'Azam Khān; so a mandate was sent [after the return of the Court to Agra in June 1632] to Mahābat Khān, Khān-Khānān, informing him that the Government of Khāndesh and the Dakhin had been conferred upon him....Yamīnu'ddaula, Asaf Khān, with 'Azam Khān and other nobles under his command, were directed to return to Court." Elliot, *Hist. of India*, VII. 31.

[2] For the siege and capture of Daulatābād (or Deogiri), a hill fort in Aurangābād district, see Elliot, *Hist. of India*, VII. 36—41.

Mahābat Khān died in the Dakhan in 1633—1634 and was buried at Delhi.

[3] Mr Beveridge informs me that Mahābat Khān's men were chiefly *rājpūts*, and that he was so associated with them that Tod (*Rājasthān*) speaks of him (wrongly) as a converted Hindu.

[4] There is a blank in the original.

[5] Mehru'n-nisa (Nūr Mahal), daughter of I'timādu'ddaula, married Sher-afgan Khān. He was killed in Bengal by the attendants of Kutbu'ddīn, foster brother of Jahāngīr, whom he had slain, and his widow was sent to Delhi.

brought before the Kinge and sheweinge herselfe somewhat haughtie and stomakefull, it is reported hee commaunded shee should bee carryed to the Comon Stewes, there to bee abused by the baser sorte; but this was not put in execution. Rather hee became her prisoner by marryeing her, for in his tyme shee in a manner ruled all in ruleing him, Coyninge money of her owne, buildinge and disposeinge as shee listed, puting out of the Kinges favour and receiveinge whome shee pleased[1]. Shee had a litle daughter [by Sher-afgan Khān] which was married to Sheriare [Shahriyār], soe shee wrought to have the Kingdome for him, And Asaph Ckaun for Sultan Ckorum [Khurram] whoe married his daughter; but the old kinge in his will dissappoynted them both by resigneing it to Sultan Boolakee [Bulākī], allthough Shaw Jehan gott it from him life and all, as heretofore mentioned[2]. This is the vulgar report and comon received opinion what I have writt of theis 3 great Personages, whoe are all yett liveinge.

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[1] For Nūr Mahal's defiance of Jahāngīr, see Della Valle, ed. Grey, I. 54. She was married to the Emperor in 1610 and was given the title of Nūr Mahal and subsequently that of Nūr Jahān Begam. For her power, privileges and unbounded ascendancy over her husband, see Elliot, *Hist. of India*, VII. 69—70; Pelsart, p. 18; Manucci, ed. Irvine, I. 162. Nūr Mahal died at Lahore in 1645.

[2] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. pp. 106—107.

RELATION XV[1].

OF AGRA, WHAT NOTABLE THERE AND THEREABOUTS, AS THE CASTLE, GARDENS, TOMBES, FESTIVALLS, CUSTOMES, ETTS.

Agra is scituated on the River Jemina [Jamnā]; The Castle and great mens howses on th' one side, as [those of] Asaph Ckaun [Asaf Khān], Mohabutt Ckaun [Mahābat Khān], etts. great Amrawes [*umarā*], and their Gardens (which are many and faire) on th' other side, yeildinge a most delectable prospecte. It is very populous by reason of the great Mogolls keeping of his Court heere; every day about the dharbare [*darbār*], such a number of Eliphants, horses, Coaches, Soldiers, peons, etts. people that is incredible; alsoe in the Bazare ordinarilye there is such a throng that men can hardly passe without much trouble. The Cittie hath many outstraglinge places, as Pores [*pur*, suburb], Bazares, Gunges [*ganj*, market][2], Soe

[1] In the *Harl.* copy this *Relation* is joined to the preceding with the heading "A Breife description of Agra, *vizt.*"

[2] Compare the description of Agra in *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Jarrett, II. 180: "Agra is a large city and possesses a healthy climate. The river Jumna flows through it for five *kos*, and on either bank are delightful villas and pleasant stretches of meadow. It is filled with people from all countries and is the emporium of the traffic of the world." Asaf Khān's palace was blown up in 1857—1858. The large walled garden of Mahābat Khān still exists. For other contemporary descriptions of Agra, its palaces and gardens, see Finch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, IV. 72, 75; Jourdain, ed. Foster, pp. 162—164; Pelsart, pp. 1—2; Manucci, ed. Irvine, I. 132—133.

that I think to encompasse all would take att least 14 or 15 miles[1]. The Inhabitants are Moores [Muhammadans] and Hindooes, Ckhattrees [*khatrīs*], etts. Heere is alsoe a Colledge of Jesuits with three or four Padres ordinarie[2], also three or four Christians that have pay from the Mogolls, *vizt.*, Signior Jeronimo Veroneo (a Venetian and a Goldsmith), Signior Francisco (a Frenchman and an Embroderer), Signior Angelo (a Phesition and servinge Fousdare [Faujdār] Ckaun), and others[3].

Places of noate [in and about it][4] are the Castle, King

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[1] Here is a marginal note—"It hath noe wall, only a ditch and severall gates." Of the extent of the city of Agra, Mandelslo, in 1638, says (p. 45): "It is as much as a Man can doe to ride about it on horseback in a day." Tieffenthaler's estimate (I. 159) agrees with Mundy's.

[2] For the foundation of a Jesuit college at Agra, the building of a church in Jahāngīr's reign, and its demolition by Shāh Jahān, see Maclagan, *Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar* (*J. A. S. B.* LXV. 38—113). See also Bernier, ed. Constable, p. 177; Manucci, ed. Irvine, I. 140, 175, 202—203.

[3] See *ante*, *Relation* VI. p. 65, for a previous mention of Jeronimo Veroneo, who, on Manrique's authority, is said to have planned the Tāj. For arguments for and against this statement, see Manucci, ed. Irvine, I. 183; IV. 422; Blunt, *Christian Tombs in the United Provinces*, p. 41; Havell, *Agra and the Tāj*, pp. 137—141; Vincent Smith, *History of Fine Art in India*, *s.v.* Veroneo; Sarkar, *Who built the Tāj Mahal?* (*Anecdotes of Aurangzib*), pp. 145—150. Veroneo died at Lahore in 1640 and was buried in Agra cemetery.

Francisco is also mentioned in *Relation* VI. (see *ante*, p. 65), but I have found no other reference to him.

For the identification of "Signior Angelo" with Angelo Gradenigo I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., who has furnished me with notes from a MS. letter of Fr. Francis Corsi, S.J. (*MSS. Soc. Jesū*). Angelo Gradenigo, a Venetian employed at the Court of Agra, was summoned from Tatta (where he was living as a merchant) by Jahāngīr, in order to play a "monicordio" lately presented to the King. He gave great delight by his music, but still more so by his cooking, and was placed on the royal establishment at Rs. 10 a day. In 1627—1628, while litigating about his brother's property, several accusations were brought against Angelo Gradenigo, among them that he had deceived the King by pretending that he knew how to cast cannon, and was receiving Rs. 10 a day for work of which he was entirely ignorant. If this charge were true, Father Hosten thinks it may explain how, in Mundy's time, "Angelo" was passing himself off as a doctor.

I am unable to identify the individual whom Mundy calls "Fousdare Ckaun."

[4] These words are added in the margin.

Ecbars [Akbar's] Tombe, Tage Moholls [Tāj Mahal's] Tombe, Gardens and Bazare.

The Castle stands on the river side, built of square hewen redd stone. That [part which] sides towards the water lyes straight upon a lyne about a quarter of a mile, and soe come[s] rounding into the Cittie. Heere is its best prospecte, which is loftie and stately, garnished with handsome Compleat battlements on the wall; about it appearinge divers of the Kings places of residence some of whose upper Coveringe are overlaid with gold. The inside of the Castle lyes levell with the Topp [of the hill on which it is built], but the outside [appears to be] of an exceedinge height [from the river]. In the Corners on the outside, great round Towers with galleries above; on the Topp sundrey Turretts, Copulaes, etts., which much beautifie it[1].

The gates and Posternes are many, but one above the rest, to which you goe from the Bazare, very stronge, high and well contrived, haveinge att the entrance on each side an Eliphant made of stone[2], within which gate about a flight shott is another entrance, before which lye many peeces of ordinance, whereof one exceedinge greate, thick and longe, alsoe stone peeces of a huge boare [bore], with others all unmounted[3]. Within the second gate lyes the

[1] The fort at Agra, begun by Akbar in 1564, was completed some eight years later. It is thus described by Abu'l Fazl: "His Majesty has built a fort of red stone, the like of which travellers have never recorded. It contains more than five hundred buildings of masonry after the beautiful designs of Bengal and Gujerat." *Āīn Akbarī*, tr. Jarrett, II. 180. For other 17th century descriptions of this castle, see Finch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, IV. 72—74; Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 163; Herbert, p. 62; Pelsart, pp. 1—2; Mandelslo, pp. 44—47; Thévenot, Pt. III. p. 33; Tavernier, ed. Ball, I. 105—109. See also Keene, *Agra*, pp. 11—16.

[2] Herbert, p. 59, says the castle has "fowre brave gates." Mundy is here alluding to the inner gateway, the *hāthī pol*, or Elephant Gate, where were two carved stone elephants with their riders. See Latif, *Agra*, p. 76; and Finch, *loc. cit.* p. 72, for an account of the latter.

[3] Compare Mandelslo, p. 45: "The most spacious [courtyard at Agra] is that which is before the Castle, where may be seen sixty great guns of all sizes, but not kept in any order so as to be made use of."

Amcasse ['*ām-khās*], his Moholl [*mahal*, palace, seraglio], Treasurie, a Garden, many fine roomes of the Kings to the waterside, now repaireinge and buildinge, the floore, roofe and sides of marble, inlayd with lookinge Glasses made into severall workes[1], Moreover divers other places, as Stables of horses, dwellings of Officers etts. men of service, The Naubutt Conna [*naubat khāna*, music gallery] or place where his drummes are beateinge in the Amcasse, over against the place where hee sitts, which, att some tymes of the daye are strucken upp 20 or 25 together which makes such a noyse that the place seemes to shake with it, they[2] being of them 4 foote diameter. There also stand his musick, as Trumpetts, pipes or hauboys.

Kinge Ecbars [Akbar's] Tombe is at Shecundra [Sikandra], two miles from Agra[3], standing in a great Garden with four great gates, whereof one principall excellinge all others that I have seene in India for hight, curious Invention in buildinge, paintinge etts. haveinge two extraordinarie high spires like to those att Constantinople[4] from whence in a longe walke you goe to the monument itselfe[5] whose outward frame resembleth the mauseolo pictured amonge the 7 wonders, fower square, lesseninge towards the topp, haveinge severall galleries round about, adorned with Copulaes of which the lower galleries conteyne the more, the borders on the outside etts. of redd stone through Cutt [perforated] with curious workes, theis

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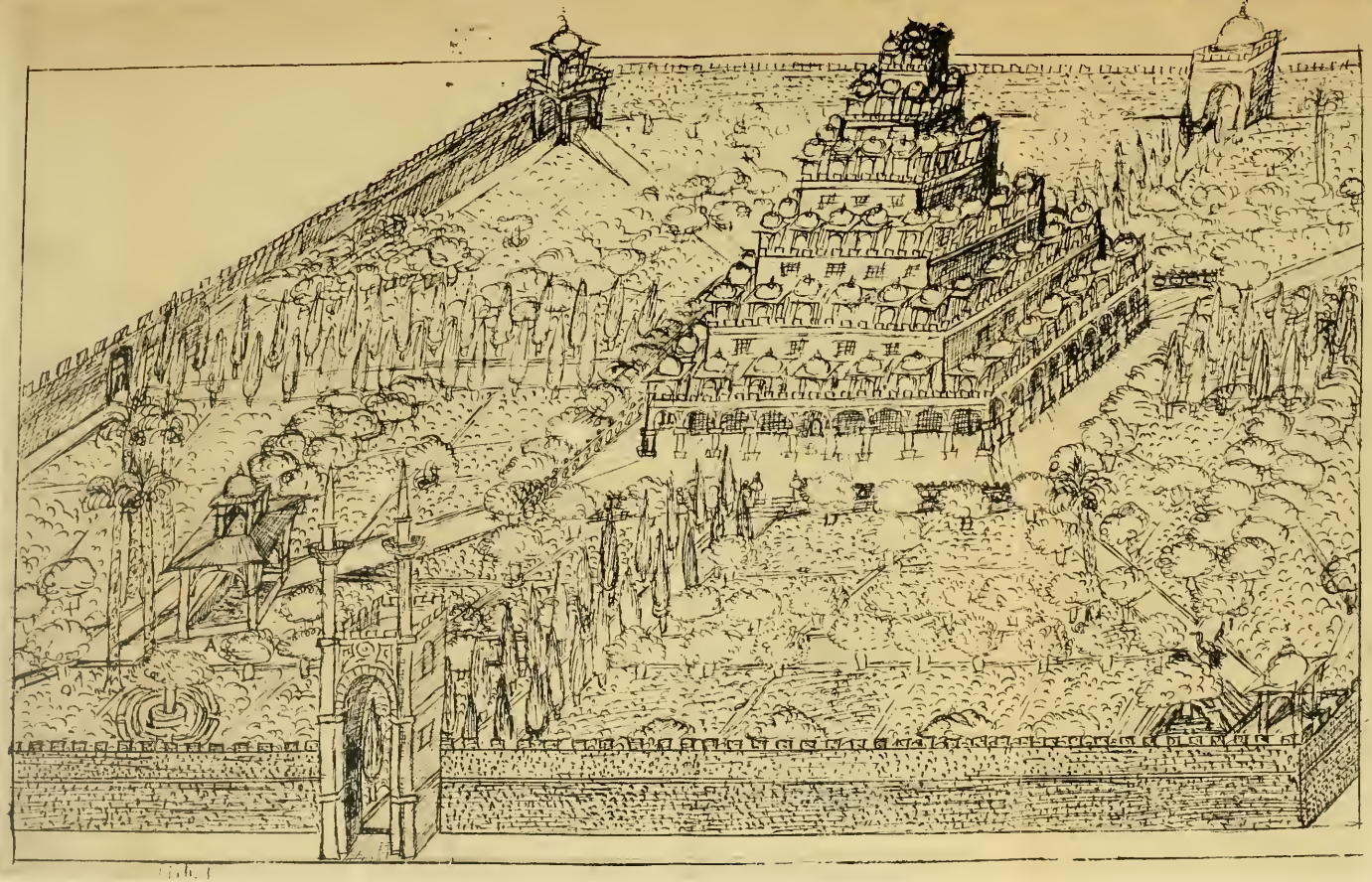
[1] The private apartments of the Royal ladies, called the *khās mahal*, were built by Shāh Jahān. For a description of this richly decorated marble edifice with its *shīsh mahal*, or Palace of Mirrors, see Latif, *Agra*, pp. 80—83; *First Report of Curator of Ancient Monuments in India*, 1881—1882.

[2] The *Harl.* copy has "there."

[3] Sikandra is really five miles N.W. of Agra. It derives its name from Sultān Sikandar Lodī, who first made Agra his capital.

[4] See vol. I. pp. 35, 193.

[5] From this magnificent gateway to the edge of the platform out of which the tomb rises is a distance of 118 ft.



No. 14. THE TOMB OF AKBAR AT SIKANDRA: (A) A SMALL TANK; (B) THE ENTRANCE TO THE TOMB

galleries ascendinge one from another to the Topp, on which is a square litle Court, the pavements chequered with white and a reddish marble, the midle of which is over the midle of the whole, where stands a Tombestone in forme of a herse of one entire peece of marble, curiously wrought and engraven with letters and flowers etts.[1] This hath 4 turretts with Copulaes, att each Corner one; from one to another are galleries alofte and under foote marble, the sides alsoe, which are artificially through Cutt as afore mentioned[2].

The said Tombestone lyes just over the place where the said kinge is buried. From hence beinge discended, and desirous to enter in, wee were not permitted, by reason the Kinge keepes the key of the doore which is alsoe sealed with his signett. The garden and the other gates were not yett finished. There is mention made of it in Purchas[3]. The designe thereof I have sett downe on thother side as well as I can remember[4], but whether it bee 4, 5 or 6 Ascents I know not, Neither certaine of the Number of Copulaes, But sure I am there were but 4 on the Topp and more and more to the Lowermost, and that the whole

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[1] Here is a marginal note in Mundy's own writing: "In Purchas, *His Pilgrimage* [ed. 1626], page 524, it is thus—It hath 7 heights, each narrower then other, the Sepulcher $\frac{3}{4}$ mile about, the garden 3 mile." This passage, though substantially correct, is not an exact quotation from the volume named.

[2] Mundy's description of the tomb, designed and begun by Akbar for his own remains, and completed by Jahāngīr, is as accurate as would be expected from such a careful observer. For other contemporary accounts of this building, see Hawkins and Finch (who saw it before completion), in Purchas, ed. Maclehose, III. 51; IV. 75—76; Herbert, p. 63; Terry, pp. 291—292; Thévenot, Pt. III. p. 34. See also Heber, *Journey from Calcutta to Bombay*, I. 386—387; Latif, *Agra*, pp. 167—182.

[3] The *Harl.* copy substitutes for this sentence—"Although I heere finish my course relation of it, beinge better described in Purchas."

[4] See Illustration No. 14.

Fabrick is 4 square[1], such a stately gate and such rancks of small Cipresse Trees.

This Kinge is now buildinge a Sepulchre for his late deceased Queene Tage Moholl [Tāj Mahal][2] (as much to say att[3] the brightnes of the Moholl), whome hee dearely affected, haveing had by her 9 or 10 children, and thought in her life tyme to use noe other woman (which is strange if true consideringe their libertie in that kinde). He intends it shall excell all other. The place appoynted [is] by the river side where shee is buried, brought from Brampore [Burhānpur] where shee dyed accompanyinge him in his warrs, as shee did all the tyme of his troubles[4]. It is reported that in tyme of his rebellion, being fledd to

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[1] Here is a marginal note in Mundy's own writing—"Mem: The Compasse of the Sepulcher, every Square accompted from starre to starre, by my computation is about $\frac{1}{3}$ of an English mile." For "starre" we should apparently read "stair." Mundy did not go over the ground floor of Akbar's tomb, and seems to have measured the platform on which the building stands from outside, from one to the other of the two staircases on its northern face. The actual measurement is 500 ft., which gives roughly a third of a mile as the circumference of the platform. One side of the garden enclosure measures about 2000 ft., giving one and a half miles as the circumference of the whole.

[2] Here is a marginal note—"Tage Moholl the late deceased Queene, her tombe nowe a buildinge." The *Harl.* copy has, "The Queenes tombe nowe a buildinge."

[3] The *Harl.* copy has "as."

[4] Arjumand Bānū Begam, born in 1592, was a daughter of Asaf Khān and niece of Nūr Mahal. She married Shāh Jahān in 1612. She was known as Mumtāz Mahal, "Pride of the Palace," and Tāj Mahal, "Crown of the Palace." She accompanied Shāh Jahān in his campaign against Khān Jahān Lodī in the Dakhan, and died at Burhānpur in June 1631, on the birth of her fourteenth (and eighth surviving) child, Gauharārā Begam. Her body was temporarily interred in a garden on the bank of the river Tāpti, and in the following December it was brought to Agra in charge of Prince Shujā'. There it was placed in a garden on the right bank of the Jamnā during the erection, in the same neighbourhood, of the celebrated mausoleum now known as the Tāj. Shāh Jahān's other alliances are said to have been purely political. He married (in 1610) Kandahārī Begam, daughter of Muzaffar Husain Mīrzā, by whom he had a daughter. In 1617, five years after his marriage with Tāj Mahal, he wedded the daughter of Shāh Nawāz, by whom he had a son who died in infancy. See Sirkar, *Account of Mumtāz Mahal's Death* (*Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, p. 416); Latif, *Agra*, pp. 100—103.

Decan [Dahkan], where hee had private intelligence from Asaph Ckaun [Asaf Khān] of his fathers death, and not knoweing how to gett out of Decan if they should heere of it, but that hee should bee intercepted and brought to what composition they would, hee fained himselfe dead. Then shee desireinge leave to carry her husbands body to be buried in his owne Countrie, it was graunted her; and by that meanes, in a Coffin Covered with black, hee was conveyed out of their dominion, which was but 3 or 4 dayes Journeies distant from his owne, where beinge come, more people adhered to him, till hee came to Agra, and by strange Courses to the Crowne[1]. There is alreadye about her Tombe a raile of gold[2]. The buildinge is begun and goes on with excessive labour and cost, prosecuted with extraordinary dilligence, Gold and silver esteemed comon Mettall, and Marble but as ordinarie stones[3]. Hee intends, as some thinck, to remove all the Cittie hither, cawseinge hills to be made levell because they might not hinder the prospect of it, places appoynted for streets, shopps, etts. dwellings, commaunding Marchants, shoppkeepers, Artificers to Inhabit [it] where they

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[1] This story, which does not appear to be given by Mundy's immediate contemporaries, is related, with variations, by Tavernier (ed. Ball, I. 338—339) and Manucci (ed. Irvine, I. 180—181). See also Mr Irvine's note on the subject (*ibid.* IV. 421); and the account in Latif's *Agra*, p. 32.

[2] The rail of solid gold studded with gems, which Mundy saw in 1632, was valued at six *lakh* of rupees. This golden palisade was removed in 1642, as it was feared it would be an incentive to robbery, and was replaced by a network of marble. See Latif, *Agra*, p. 115.

[3] This account of the building of the Tāj (begun early in 1632 and finished some twelve years later) is especially valuable as coming from an eye-witness of its construction. For descriptions by other 17th century travellers, see Tavernier, ed. Ball, I. 109—111; Bernier, ed. Constable, pp. 294—299; Thévenot, Pt. III. p. 33. See also for detailed accounts of the mausoleum and the materials employed, Sirkar, *Who built the Tāj Mahal?* (*Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, pp. 148—150); Latif, *Agra*, pp. 100—123.

begin to repaire and called by her name, Tage Gunge [Tāj Ganj][1].

The Gardens about Agra are many, but the cheifest are Darree ca baug [Dehra Bāgh] and King Ecbars [Akbar's] on this side the river and Mootee ca baag on the other side, the latter built by Nooremohol[2]. As these are, soe are all the rest in generall, I meane the better sort, although much inferior yett for the manner [of much inferior description], *vizt.*, a great, high, large, faire, fower square brick wall, 4 Towers, att each Corner one, with their Copulaes, pillars and galleries, An arched gate; some have 2 and some 3 or 4. Theis comonly lead towards the midle (by long walks with rancks [rows] of Cypresse trees on each side), where is the cheife howse of pleasure and Tancke, haveing divers other roomes and tancks heere and there in the Garden, but this is the principall, which is curiously contrived, wrought and painted; and some Tancks of great compasse. This square Garden is againe devided into other lesser squares, and that into other like bedds and plotts; in some, litle groves of trees, as Apple trees (those scarse)[3], Orenge Trees, Mulberrie trees, etts.

[1] The reason for the foundation of a suburb and market near the Tāj was to provide a revenue for the upkeep of the mausoleum, according to custom. In 1643, the rent of the *sarāīs* and shops adjoining the tomb produced a *lakh* of rupees (then about £12,500), and this was assigned by Shāh Jahān for the maintenance of the building and the support of the holy men placed in it. See Sirkar, *Who built the Tāj Mahal?* (*Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, p. 150).

[2] The foundation of the Dehra or Zahra Bāgh is ascribed to Bābar, who is said to have built a garden palace there for a daughter named Zahra. See *Archaeol. Survey Report*, IV. 107.

By Akbar's Garden Mundy apparently means the garden attached to the Emperor's tomb at Sikandra.

The Motī Bāgh is usually ascribed to Shāh Jahān on account of a beautiful little mosque (not the well-known Motī Masjid in the Fort) erected by him in that garden. Mundy's statement, however, shows that the grounds were laid out and the summer palace built in the previous reign when Nūr Mahal's power was in the ascendant.

[3] During Akbar's reign trees and flowers of various kinds were imported and planted at Fatehpur Sīkrī and at Agra. Apples were brought from Samarkand.

Mango trees, Caco [cocoanut] trees, Figg trees, Plantan trees, theis latter in rancks, as are the Cipresse trees. In other squares are your flowers, herbes, etts., whereof Roses, Marigolds (theis scarse only in Mootee ca baag) to bee seene; French Mariegolds aboundance; Poppeas redd, carnation and white; and divers other sortes of faire flowers which wee knowe not in our parts[1], many groweinge on prettie trees, all watered by hand in tyme of drought, which is 9 monethes in the Yeare. This, I say, is the generall manner, but the former[2] excell both in greatnes and curiositie of buildinge, painteing etts.; the carved worke off through Cutt [perforated] redd stone much used in all their gardens and Tombes etts. In Mootee ca baag were many roomes painted, which wee might perceive to bee drawne from Europe prints (of which they make accompt heere). Alsoe there was the picture of Sir Thomas Roe, late Ambassadour heere, as it was told us[3].

The Bazare affoards plentie of all things, as flesh, fish, graine, fruites, etts., as Beefe, Mutton, Partridge, quailes, pigeons, Turtle doves (Sometymes geese and ducks); Mangoes, Plantans [bananas], Ananesses [*ananās*, pine-apple], etts. [and other] fruites of this countrie (and out of Persia), Raysins, Almonds, Pistaches [pistacia], walnutts, apples, orrenges, Prunes [plums], prunellas or dryed

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[1] Jahāngīr (*Memoirs*, pp. 5—6) dilates on the beauty and fragrance of the flowers of India and says that "it has many such that nothing in the whole world can be compared to them." For the methodical arrangement of Indian gardens, introduced by Bābar, see *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, I. 87.

[2] The three gardens specially mentioned above.

[3] This "picture," of which I have found no other mention, was probably a fresco on the wall of the garden palace. Sir Thomas Roe (1580—1644) was sent by the East India Company as Ambassador to the Court of Jahāngīr in 1615—1618.

Roe himself, however, was never at Agra. See *Embassy of Sir T. Roe*, ed. Foster, Introduction.

Apricocks[1], Musk millions [*sītāphal*], although of the latter there bee much in this Countrie, as also of water millions [*tarbūza*][2]; Fish of divers sorts out of the River, whereof one is very good called Roe[3], a great scaly Fish.

There is also another Bazare or Markett, which, although not soe Commendable, yett much frequented and allowed of, not only heere but all India over, namely the Common Stewes, of which there bee in divers places of Agra. Each of them every eveninge is like a faire, where they resort, make their bargaines, take and choose the whores sittinge and lyeinge on their Cotts att their balcones and doores. Theis are called Manganaes [*māngani*].

There are also dauncinge wenches, of whome there are divers sorts, as Lullenees [*lalnī*], Harcanees [*harakni*], Kenchanees [*kanchanī*] and Doomenees [*domnī*] (all whoores though not in soe publique a manner) beinge of severall Castes and use different manner of musick. Most comonly they are hired att solemne feasts, where they playe, singe and daunce, whilst they [the guests] eate, drinck and discourse[4]. And there is scarse any meetinge of freinds without them, where, when they are once warme with their meates, drinckes, gullees [*gholā*], etts. (I meane the Moores [Muhammadans] etts.), they take whome they have a minde to, either for [the] night or otherwise. These [women] buy litle slave Wenches and bringe them upp to their professions, sellinge their Maidenheads att first att deere rates, after prostituted for a small matter.

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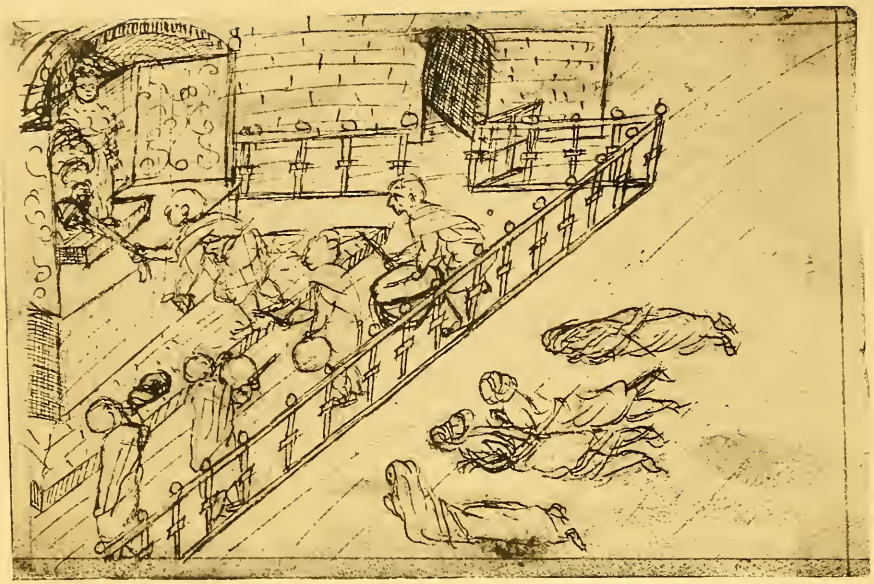
[1] Prunello or prunella, an obsolete term for dried plums of the finest varieties. See *O. E. D.*, *s.v.* Prunello. In the *Āīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, 1. 65, dried apricots are termed *khūbānī*.

[2] For the fruits of Akbar's table, see *Āīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, 1. 64—67.

[3] *Rohū*, vulg. *rōī*, *cyprinus rohita*, a species of carp.

[4] See Dellon, p. 58; and Ovington, p. 257, for accounts of "Dancing women."



No. 15. CEREMONY OF CENSING KĀLĪ IN A HINDU TEMPLE AT BENARES, 1632

(See p. 175)

No. 16. A *MIHMĀNĪ* OR BANQUET IN 1632

(See p. 217)

I have here under sett a Mimmannee [*mihmānī*] (or banquett) with daunceinge wenches by figure[1], *Vizt.*,

A. A Table Cloth layed on the Ground.

B. The guest[s] sittinge on the ground also, with great Cusheons behind them.

C. A servant beatinge away the flyes with a Chewra [*chauhrī*], which is a horse taile on a handle.

D. Another with a puncka [*pankhā*] (or leather fanne)[2] makes wynd.

E. The dauncinge wenches.

F. One that playes on a Tabor or litle Drumme.

G. An old woman which doth only singe and clapp her hands keeping a kinde of tyme.

H. A fellow beating on both sides of a Drumme [*tam-tam*, tom-tom], in fashion like the Barricas [Port., water-cask] wee have aboard the India shipps.

I. A woman Clappinge two things like Sawcers of brasse [small cymbals], keeping tyme also.

K. Girles or slave wenches sitting behinde the rest.

L. A learge Carpett whereon they all eat, sitt and daunce, It is to bee understood they all singe, aswell those that daunce as those that playe, all of one note, except the man who is the Diapason[3]. Noe thirds nor fifts in Musick as I could heere[4].

Goolees[5] is a kinde of Composition made of strong

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[1] See Illustration No. 16.

[2] The hand *pankhā* or large leather fan, not the swing *pankhā* described *ante*, p. 191.

[3] Mundy seems to mean by the diapason the man who provides the *motif* or theme of the song.

[4] Modern Indian music, like that of the bagpipe and the Gregorian chant, has five notes to the modern European octave, and so the two styles are irreconcilable. Mundy was right therefore in observing that Indian music has no thirds or fifths in the European sense.

[5] *Gholā*, an intoxicant of opium or *bhang*.

druggs and spices, fashioned into small pelletts, used by the Moores as wee doe wyne to make them merrie, in that kinde workeinge the same effect, but more especiallie to provoke them to Lust.

The honourable Company have a howse wherein their servants reside in Phullhuttee [Phal-hattī][1], a quiet place amonge Hindooe Ckhattrees [*khatrīs*] in the hart of the Cittie, where wee live after this Countrie manner in matter of meate, drincke and apparrell; Our meat for the most part after the Custome of this place, sitting on the ground att our meate or discourse. The roomes in generall Covered with Carpetts with great round, high Cushions to leane on (this aswell in publique as in private). Our Habitt when wee goe abroad is a Shash [turban] on our heads, a Doopata [*dopattā*] or white lynnen scarfe over our shoulders (this in Summer and Pummering[2] in Winter); then a fine white lynnen Coate, a girdle to binde about us, breeches and shooes, our swords and daggers by our sides. Thus in the Cittie. But when wee goe out of Towne, wee have our bowes and arrowes att our sadle, and a buckler hanging on our shoulders. However, wee never stirr a foote out of doores but on horseback, it being the Custome of the Cittie.

There are certaine Customes or Ceremonies used heere, as also in other parts of India, *vizt.*, Shawsen[3], Hooly [Holī], Dewally [Dīwālī][4].

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[1] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 78.

[2] *Pāmarī*, *pāmrī*, *pānwrā*, silk cloth, also silk or cloth carpeting. Mundy probably means by his "pummering" what is now known as *pashmīna*, a fine cloth made of wool or goat's hair. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Pambre. Besides the quotations given in that article, compare the following: 1636. "Investing me with two pamrynes" (*English Factories*, 1634—1636, p. 254). 1638. "Upon their ordinary garment they [the Indian 'Mahumetans'] wear a kind of Cloak, which they call Pomereis against the cold and rain" (Mandelslo, p. 80).

[3] The cry, "Shāh Husain," in corruption of "Yā Hasan, Yā Husain," used at the Muharram.

[4] The *Harl.* copy has for headline here—"Holie tides: as Shawsen, Hoolee, Deewallee."

Shawsen by the Moores in memorie of one Shawsen a great Warriour, slayne by the Hindooes att the first conqueringe this Countrie, Soe that they doe not only solempnize his funerall by makeinge representative Tombes in every place, but, as it were, promise to revenge his death with their drawne swords, their haire about their eares, leaping and danceinge in a frantick manner with postures of fightinge, alwaies cryeing, "Shawsen, Shawsen," others answeringe the same words with the like gestures. It is dangerous then for Hindooes to stirr abroad. This they doe 9 or 10 dayes, and then hee is, as it were, carried to buriall[1].

Then there is Hoolee [Holī] of the Hindooes used in the same manner as Shrovetide is in Fraunce, by eating, drinckeing, feasteinge, playinge, throweinge sweete oyles and water with redd powder on that againe, soe all bedaubeing themselves, the Courser sort towards the end of it flinging about old shooes, raggs, dust, dirt, etts, with affrontive Gambolls to those that passe by, being also of the inferiour sort. This lasteth some few dayes and then hee is also carried to burninge with great Companie, musick, etts. This they doe in remembrance of a certaine deliverye of their Countrie from a Tirant[2].

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[1] This is a garbled but interesting account of the tragic deaths or martyrdom of Hasan and Husain (the grandsons of Muhammad through his daughter Fātima), together with their followers, commemorated at the Muharram festival. The murders took place at different dates, *i.e.* A.H. 49 and 61 (A.D. 669 and 681), and of course neither of the "martyrs" was ever anywhere near India. See Pelly, *The Miracle Play of Hasan and Husain*, for a detailed account of this festival and its meaning; and Herklots, *Qanoon-e-Islam*, pp. 150—171. For other 17th century travellers' accounts, see Fryer, ed. Crooke, I. 273; Thévenot, Pt. III. p. 116.

[2] The Holī festival is a kind of Hindu saturnalia held in the spring, during which much license of language and behaviour is customary amongst all the lower orders in Northern India. The throwing of red powder over each other is a prominent feature, as also are the "*holī* fires" which Mundy does not mention. According to one legend of classical origin the demon Harnākas persecuted his ascetic son Prahlād, with the assistance of Holī, his sister, and was destroyed by Vishnu

Then Deewally [Dīwālī], a holly tyme among the Hindooes, when they sett Lamps and lights in their windowes and tarrasses, etts.[1]

The manner of carrieinge auntient men to burninge.

I also saw in Agra divers tymes that if they carried a verie auntient man [devotee] to burninge, they would goe with the greatest musick, daunceing and content that they could devise, throweinge flowers, redd powders, etts., one upon another, as also on the Corpes, rejoy[c]einge that hee hath soe well performed his tyme, and arrived to such a good age[2]. Otherwise they make great lamentation, the weomen comeinge after the Corps, a great distance of, when they are carried to be burned, Crieing and Lamentinge to the uttermost, performeinge certaine Cerimonies att the River and keepeinge some dayes of mourninge in the same manner as the Jewish weomen att Constantinople, sometymes singinge, then Cryeinge, scratchinge and pullinge their haire, then singinge againe, etts.[3] This they doe alternatively for some few howres in a day and then

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in his form of Narsingh, the "man-lion." See Crooke, *Popular Religion*, II. 313—319. For contemporary accounts of the festival, see Fryer, ed. Crooke, I. 277—278, II. 79; Thévenot, Pt. III. pp. 57—58. For a modern version of the Holī legend, see *Panjab Notes and Queries*, III. no. 553.

[1] See *ante*, *Relation* X. p. 146, for a previous mention of and note on Dīwālī or "Feast of Lamps." Apart from the so-called classical legends attached to this festival, the object of cleaning and lighting up the houses, and placing lights outside them, is to make things pleasant for the spirits of the dead who, on the Dīwālī night, are supposed to visit their old homes. See Crooke, *Things Indian*, pp. 212—213; Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, II. 317. See also Fryer, ed. Crooke, I. 277; Ovington, p. 401.

[2] Here is another instance of Mundy's accuracy of observation. Compare Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, II. 56: "At the devotee's interment no wailing or expressions of grief are allowed...the corpse is...attended by persons who cast rose-coloured powder into the air, or demonstrate in other modes their joy."

[3] Here is a marginal note—"A strange kinde of mourninge." For mourning women, see Le Blanc, p. 89.

referr it to the next. This is att the meeteinge of neighbours and friends.

Those that intend to burne with their Husbands and doe it not when hee is burned, they reserve his Shash [turban] by them. The tyme appoynted being come, and they come to the place appoynted, they sitt downe, and takeing their husbands shash in their lapp, instead of the whole bodye, they are burned with it. This they say[1].

A Straunge Custome.

The Hindooes wives or Ckhattarannes[2] att the marriage of their Children, besides the Ceremonies heretofore mentioned[3], doe Cellebrate their Nuptialls with Drummes, beateing with their hands and singing to it for many dayes and nights together, both att home in the Topps of their howses and in the streets, haveinge libertie by Custome in this tyme to say what they list, which is in revileinge, scoffeinge, filthy, bawdy and beastly speeches in singinge, which is very strange, consideringe that att other tymes they are scarce to bee seene or heard, and that if they should utter the least of those things they would bee esteemed vile.

The makeing of Indico.

Now a word or two of the makeinge of Indico, the best and richer sort being comonly called by the name of Agra Indico.

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[1] This appears to be a reference to the Hindu custom of performing funeral rites in effigy, when, for any reason, it is impossible to perform them in the presence of the corpse itself, although I have been unable to trace any instance of the use of the turban as described in the text. It is not, however, an unlikely custom and probably did exist in various places in India in Mundy's time. Mr Crooke has given me the following references on the subject: Playfair, *The Garos*, p. 111; Anantha Krishna Iyer, *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, II. 157; Crooke, *Things Indian*, p. 130.

[2] *Khatrānī* means a female of the *khatrī* caste, and not a Hindu woman generally.

[3] The *Harl.* copy has a marginal note—"Betroathinge." See *ante*, *Relation* XII. pp. 179—180, for Mundy's previous reference to marriage ceremonies.

There are divers Townes about Agra, some 40, some 30, some 20 and some 15 course distant, as Hindowne [Hindaun], Byana [Bayānā], Panchoona, Bashavor [Bisaur], Connoway [Khānwā][1], etts., where it growes and is made, *vizt.*—About the begining of the raynes they labour the grounds and soe the seeds which by the end of it, is growne a good hight, being a litle sprigge bearinge a litle small leafe consistinge of many parts, as[2]
but much [2].

There is also Tancks called Chaboochaes[3], places made of purpose, well plaistered to keepe in liquor, and may conteyne five or six Tonn each. In the bottome is a round receptacle. This place is filled with water (their beinge many of them together). Then Cutt they the said plant somewhat above the ground and throwe it into the said water (the plant next yere springeth upp againe), and there they lett the said Stalkes and leaves remaine some 48 howres, keepeing it downe with waight, and nowe and then stirringe of it, from which the water receaves a Coulour. After this they lett it settle, leaveinge the water to runne out att a passage of purpose; and in the bottome they finde a substance which they gentlye take out, and put to drie untill it become as hard as paist and then the[y] forme it into Lumps, crushing it together in their hands, which being againe put to drie, is put up readie to be sold or used.

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[1] Pelsart (p. 6) calls these last three towns "Patchiona," "Bassower" and "Chanoua." "Patchiona" or "Panchoona" may be represented by the "Pichaouree" of the Indian Atlas. Of Khānwā Finch remarks, "Cannowa is a small country Towne round about which is made very good Nill [*nīl*, indigo] by the reason of the fatnesse of the soil and brackishnesse of the water." (Purchas, ed. Maclehose, IV. 44.)

[2] There are blanks in the MS. here. Pelsart, who has a long account of indigo-growing (pp. 4—7), is also at a loss for a comparison. He says that "the leaves are round and rather like which grows in our part of the world." In Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*, p. 570, the shrub is compared to a gooseberry bush. Tavernier, ed. Ball, II. 9—10, says that indigo "much resembles hemp."

[3] *Chahbachā* (*lit.* son of a well), a cistern, vat, sink.

That which is made the first yere is called Nautee [*naudhā*, *notī*], the second yere Jeree [*jarī*] and the third yere Coteale [*khutiyāl*]. Jeree is the best, then Nautee, and lastly, Coteale, the worst[1]. After three yeres they doe noe more good of that plant, soe worke upon others that they have planted in the meane tyme. It is ordinariely noe higher then a yard, and there is but litle made of a great deale of ground, for were it easie to come by, it would prove much Cheaper. This as neere as I can remember as it was told mee by our Indico Merchants and Brokers, and is only a litle lighte to those that are desirous to knowe of its makeinge, this discription beinge not soe punctuall as it might have bene[2].

The manner of the Kings boates at Agra.

The kings and great mens boates heere are such as are at Puttana[3], although not soe longe, this litle River Jemina

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[1] The words used by Mundy and his contemporaries for the three indigo crops are not to be found in modern works on the subject and therefore appear to have gone out of use. They are, however, generic terms for various sorts of crops grown from seed, stalks and stubble. *Naudhā* (*naudā*, *notī*, *nūtī*) is indigo sown at the beginning of the rains. *Jarī* is the second crop taken after the *naudhā* has been cut. *Khūntī* (*khūtī*, *khutiyā*, *khutiyāl*) is the crop cut from the second year stubble of the *naudhā*. Of these, *naudhā* is fair; *jarī* is the best; but the *khūntī* is poor, or as Rumphius (who calls this crop *sassala*) says, a *vilissima species*. See Rumphius, *Herbarium Amboinense*, v. 224. Pelsart's terms are "nouty," of a brown colour and somewhat coarse, "ziarie" second growth, "Catel" third growth. Finch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, IV. 44, has "Notee, immature; Cyeree, perfect; Catteld, declining."

[2] For other contemporary accounts of the growth and preparation of indigo, see Mandelslo, pp. 83—84; Terry, p. 107; Tavernier, ed. Ball, II. 9—12. See also the account by Francis Fettiplace in *Letters Received* (1616), p. 241.

[3] The *Harl.* copy has a headline "Boates" and the following introductory sentence to this paragraph—"I had almost forgotten the Boates here for the Kings and great mens uses (as I did those at Puttana); only twoe words and then I will cease troubling Agra any further." Then follows the description, already given in *Relation* XI. *ante*, pp. 157—158, of the pleasure boats at Patna with the additional remark, "This is for the most parte as it [?is] used in the River Ganges at Puttana, there beinge litle difference heere."

not soe Capeable [suitable for navigation] as the river Ganges. They are rowed with Padles and observe neere the same Custome as they doe in the other [boats at Patna][1].

Heere are also verie great lighters or Gabares[2], of 3, 4, or 500 Tonns each, serving for transportinge great men with their howshold and howshold stuffe downe the river to Etaya [Etāwa], Ellahabaz [Allahābād], Puttana [Patna], Dhacca [Dhākā, Dacca] etts. places on the river Ganges, haveing howses in the midle for the weomen[3], and many of them on their stemms the figures of the head of an Eliphant, Dragon, Tiger, etts., with double sternes. Others there are plaine, both ends alike, for Courser offices, as carryeinge of Timber, stones, etts. such as are att Etaya[4]. See folio [43][5].

I have heere sett the figure of the first and best sorte of theis Lighters[6].

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[1] See *ante*, *Relation* XI. p. 158. See also Finch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, IV. 75.

[2] This is a European, not an Indian, term. The forms (It., Sp. and Port.) *gabarra*, (Fr.) *gabare*, (Eng.) gabbart, gaber, gaboard, gabbard all represent a large sailing barge, a lighter. It was apparently an elaborate variety of the Indian *patēlā*. See *O.E.D.*, *s.v.* gabbart.

[3] The *Harl.* copy has—"Heere are alsoe greate Boates to convey his [the King's] Moholl [*mahal*, seraglio] with severall roomes, able to carry a prettie village with all theyre Inhabitants and goods; such is theire hugenesse."

[4] Here Mundy seems to be describing the *patēlā* or ordinary barge. See Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 162.

[5] Mundy is alluding to his previous remark on these lighters. See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. pp. 87—88.

[6] See Illustration No. 17.

RELATION XVI[1].

A JOURNEY FROM AGRA TO SURATT WITH A CAPHILA CONSISTINGE OF 268 CAMMELLS AND 109 CARTS, WHEREON WAS LADEN 1493[2] FARDLES INDICO AND 12 FARDLES OF SALTPETER ETTS. GOODES, DESPEEDED BY MR WILLIAM FREMLEN UNDER THE CONDUCT OF PETER MUNDY WITH A CONVOY[2] OF 170 PEONES OR SOULDIERS, *vizt.*

The 25 *of February* 1632 [1633]. Wee Sett out from Agra in the morninge, accompanied with Mr John Robinson[3], Signior Jeronimo [Veroneo], an Italian[4], Signior Tristen and Signior Martin, Dutchmen[5], and haveing satt a while by a Tanck a mile without the Cittie, the accustomed place of partinge, wee tooke our leaves each of other, they returninge to Agra, I on my Journey. That evening wee came to Futtapore [Fatehpur Sīkrī], (12 Course).

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[1] This is *Relation* XIV. in the *Harl.* copy.

[2] The *Harl.* copy has "1439 Fardles [bundles]...under the conduct of mee Peter Mundy haveinge with mee 170 Peones or Souldiers."

[3] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 80, for Robinson's appointment as a factor, and *Relation* XII., note on p. 186, for his return to England.

[4] See *Relation* XV., note on p. 208.

[5] Lodewijk Trijssens, Dutch factor at Agra, is mentioned in the *Dagh Register* for 1636, p. 52. See also *English Factories*, 1634—1636, p. 89 *n.*

By "Signior Martin," Mundy may mean Maerten Frederickszoon, who was imprisoned by Asaf Khān in 1623. See *English Factories*, 1621—1623, p. 197 *n.* I have, however, found no later mention of him.

King Ecbars Pilgrimage to Adgeemeere.

In our way were certaine Munaries [*mīnār*] or small Towers made Taperwise, built by king Ecbar [Akbar] on this occasion. Hee haveinge never a Childe[1] and being desirous of a Sonne to succeede him, hee was perswaded by a Fackeere [*fakīr*] that if hee went barefoote to Adgemeere [Ajmer] to visitt and to offer to the Tombe of Qfuaz Mondeene [Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-dīn Chishtī] a reputed Saint among the Moores [Muhammadans], hee should obteyne his said desire, which hee accordinglye performed (by way of Sanganeare [Sāngāner], there being 150 Course from Agra to Adgeemeere); and att every Course end hee cawsed these Munaries to bee built[2]. Hee had after this three Sonnes[3]. It is said hee went on Carpetts all the way, but on this manner: There beinge a good space first spread, as fast as hee went on, the hindermost Carpetts were taken away, and readye spread in his way before hee came to them[4].

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[1] The *Harl.* copy has—"never a Sonne to succeede him."

[2] Here is a marginal note—"King Ecbar's pilgrimage to Adgemeere." There are various contemporary accounts of Akbar's pilgrimage to the shrine of Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-dīn Chishtī at Ajmer. Most of them, however, describe the monarch's journey as being one of supplication, rather than thanksgiving, for the birth of his son, Salīm (Jahāngīr), so-called after Shekh Salīm Chishtī in whose house the child was born, in 1570. See Jahāngīr's own account of his birth (*Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, pp. 1—2). Gladwin, *Hist. of Hindostan*, p. 11, says that the pilgrimage occupied seventeen days.

For the *mīnārs* set up on the route, compare Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*, p. 533: "Betweene Agimere or Azmere and Agra, are a hundred and twentie Courses: at every Course end a great pillar erected, and at every tenth Course a Seraglia or Place of lodging for Man and Horse...there are also at every tenth Course faire Houses erected by Echebar for his Women...The reason heereof is reported that Echebar wanting Children went on Pilgrimage on foot to Asmere for that purpose, at every Course end saying his prayers, and lodging at the tenth." See also Finch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, IV. 41; Herbert, p. 61; De Laët, tr. Lethbridge, p. 72; Thévenot, Pt. III. p. 49.

[3] Akbar's three sons were Salīm (Jahāngīr), Murād and Dānyāl. Previous to his vow, he had twin sons who died in infancy.

[4] Mundy is retailing the usual story related for the glorification of the Saint. Akbar, in fact, appears to have travelled on horseback

Halfe a mile out of Agra was a little Tanck lay by the way side, of one entire massie peece of white Marble, fowre square, each squaire conteyninge at least 2½ yardes, brought for the kinge, yet unpollished, of about a foote thick.

Gonga Mohol: wherefore built.

Within 3 Course of Futtapore, there is a ruinated buildinge, named Gonga [*gūngā*, dumb] Mohol, that is, the howse of the dumbe, built by Kinge Ecbar of purpose, where hee cawsed litle Children to be brought upp by dumb Nurses to knowe what language they would naturally speake; but it is said that in a long time they spake nothing att all[1].

The Cittie of Futtapore [Fatehpur Sīkrī] was also built by Kinge Ecbar aforesaid att his returne from the Conquest of Guzaratt, nameinge it the Towne of Victorie[2]. It is encompassed with a faire high wall of bigg square redd stone. In my opinion it was the only place that might

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from Mandelgarh to Ajmer, regarding which ride another story for the glorification of Mu'īnu'd-dīn Chishtī is told, *viz.* that a disciple dreamt that the Emperor was relieved of the obligation of completing the pilgrimage barefoot. See Latif, *Agra*, p. 229.

[1] Akbar's object in making this experiment was to ascertain "natural laws" and he intended to follow whatever laws and customs might belong to the people whose language the children spoke naturally. As language is, however, acquired by imitation, the children necessarily spoke no language, and Akbar had no opportunity of ascertaining his "natural laws." See Beveridge, *Father Jerome Xavier* in *J.A.S.B.* 1888, p. 37; Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*, p. 516; Manucci, ed. Irvine, I. 142.

[2] Twenty-two miles from Agra was the hamlet of Sīkrī, the retreat of the celebrated Indian Muhammadan Saint, Shekh Salīm Chishtī (*i.e.* of the sect founded by Khwāja Maudūd Chishtī who died in 1153). In 1569, on his way back from his campaign in Gujarāt, Akbar halted at the foot of a rock, on the top of which the holy man had taken up his abode. The Emperor had lately lost his only sons (twins by his Hindu wife), and is said to have besought the Saint's prayers for another son, and to have sent his wife to reside with the Saint, who was then over ninety years of age. In the following year Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) was born. In honour of the Saint and to commemorate his conquests in Gujarāt, Akbar built at Sīkrī the town of Fatehpur, the City of Victory, as a royal residence.

any way resemble our European Citties, for conformitie of stately buildinges. Now it lyes in a manner of a heape[1] (the ruynes to bee seene of broken Arches, galleries[2], etts.), exceptinge the Kinges howse, the great Messitt [*masjid*] and one Bazare.

The kings howse or Moholl stands on the highest hill, within which are aboundance of Courts, Conveyances, galleries, Chowtrees [*chabūtrā*], Arches, pillars, Tancks, Chaboochaees [*chahbachā*][3], private roomes, all verie rich, curious, and full of invention of painteinge, carvinge, etts.[4]; Also a little garden. The water to water it is also to fill the Tancks alofte, and for their use is drawne from the valley, first into one Tanck and then from that into another higher, and soe into 4 or 5 untill it come alofte, by that which wee in Spaine call Noraies[5].

The Great Messitt.

The Messitt [*masjid*] is the fairest I have yett seene in India, standing verie high, built by [Salīm Chishtī],

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[1] For descriptions of the deserted city, see Finch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, IV. 41—43; Herbert, p. 61; De Laët, tr. Lethbridge, p. 71; Tieffenthaler, I. 179. The cause of the abandonment, in 1605, of Fatehpur Sīkrī as a royal residence is generally attributed to the difficulty of obtaining sufficient water. But there is also still current an apocryphal story that Shekh Salīm Chishtī, who died in 1572, was so inconvenienced by the noise attendant on the residence of the Court, that Akbar, in deference to his desire for seclusion, left the place. See Latif, *Agra*, pp. 162—163.

[2] Here is a marginal note—"The Cittie of Futtapore ruinated." The *Harl.* copy adds, after "galleries," the word "pillars."

[3] See *ante*, *Relation* XV., note on p. 222. Here is a marginal note—"The Kings howse entire."

[4] For a full description of the Diwān-ī-'Am, the Mahal-i-Khās and other royal buildings comprised in Mundy's "Moholl," see E. W. Smith, *Moghul Architecture of Fathpur Sīkrī*, Pt. I. See also *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Jarrett, II. 180—181.

[5] Noraie, Sp. *noria*, through Ar. *nā'ūrah*, the common or "Persian" wheel of India, *rahat*, *arhat*. The earliest quotation for "noria" in the *O. E. D.* is 1792. The ruins of the series of Persian wheels and reservoirs, by which water from the lake outside the city was supplied to the palace, still exist.

a Fackere much reputed of[1]. Soe that a certaine Amrawe [*amīr*] being bound for the warrs, and haveinge noe sonne, left his meanes with [t]his Fackeere, with Condition that if hee returned not it should bee all his. The Amrawe was slaine and hee [the *fakīr*] remained with all his riches, wherewith hee built this Messitt, as also his owne Tombe[2]. It is a very Curious [elaborately constructed] buildinge; a faire arched entrance full of Copulaes round about on the walls, very large, paved with Marble. It hath many Fackeers etts. to attend it, whoe att certaine tymes in the day and night beat on great drumms and sound with Trumpetts, which is usually done att all great mens Tombes according as they are of abillitie.

The Moores tombes.

As the Turks att Constantinople, soe doe the Moores in this Countrie make their Sepulchers without the Citties for the most part, Great men in Gardens of their owne or eminent places (as on the Topps of some hills, by great Tancks etts.). The Comon sort have a Common place, and over every one they build a forme of a herse or Coffin, with some Invention, accordinge as their meanes will stretch.

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[1] Salīm Chishtī was buried in the Jamā' Masjid at Fatehpur Sīkrī. The building is attributed to the Saint by contemporary writers and by the inscription on the mosque. The fact, however, seems to be that the *khānkā* or monastery and cloisters were erected by Salīm Chishtī and the mosque and tomb by Akbar. See *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Jarrett, II. 180; Smith, *Moghul Architecture of Fathpur Sīkrī*, Pt. IV. pp. 1—15; Badāonī, *Muntakhab Ut-Tawārīkh*, tr. Lowe, pp. 73, 112.

For quaint accounts of the Masjid, see Finch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, IV. 42—43, on "The Faire Meskete"; De Laët, tr. Lethbridge, p. 71; Thévenot, Pt. III. pp. 39—40.

[2] Mr Beveridge suggests that the *amīr* was Kutbu'd-dīn Kokaltāsh, known also as Shekh Khūban or Khūbū, son of Shekh Salīm Chishtī's sister, and foster-brother of the Emperor Jahāngīr. He was Governor of Bengal 1606—1607 and was killed by Sher-afgan Khān, the first husband of Nūr Mahal. His remains were subsequently buried at Fatehpur Sīkrī.

Under the Cittie is a Lake of 10 or 12 mile long, haveing store of Fish[1]. By it is a curious Munare [*mīnār*] or Tower of a greate highte, to bee ascended within side, haveinge on the outside peeces of white Marble made in forme of Eliphants Teeth built into it and sticking out about three quarters of a yard, and soe much distance betwene on[e] another, haveinge on the Topp a fine Chowtree [*chabūtrā*] and a Copulae, supported with pillars, to bee ascended within side with stepps. It is Comonly called the Towre of Eliphants teeth, many thinckinge them to bee reall[2] as by the figure heere sett downe[3].

There is also a conceited [ingeniously devised] Stable standinge on the side of the hill Towards the lake, which is made into severall flatts [floors] or degrees, like stepps one above another with pillars and arches to support a Coveringe to it. On each of those degrees stood a Ranck of horses; the entrance att one end[4].

Likewise a Parke or meadowe walled in, wherein were severall beasts. Amonge the rest Nilgaues, a kind of deere as high as a good Colte or Mule with short hornes[5].

Within the kings howse was a great Jarre made of plaister and lyme like a Tynaja in Spaine[6]. It might

[1] This *jhīl* or lake, six miles long by two wide, was formed by an embankment enclosing the waters of the Bāngangā or Uttangān.

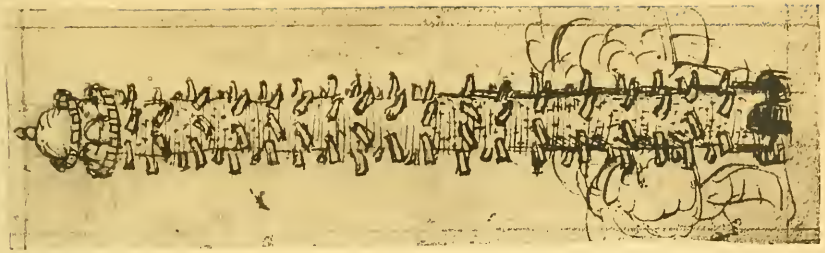
[2] The Hiran Mīnār or Antelope Tower is said to have been erected by Akbar over the grave of a favourite elephant. It is 70 ft. high and is studded with imitation elephant tusks. It is also said that Akbar used it as a hunting tower, from which to fire at game. Mr E. W. Smith, however, thinks it more likely that the place was used by the inmates of the Seraglio as a vantage point from which to witness tournaments, etc. See *Moghul Architecture of Fathpur Sīkrī*, Pt. III. pp. 36—37.

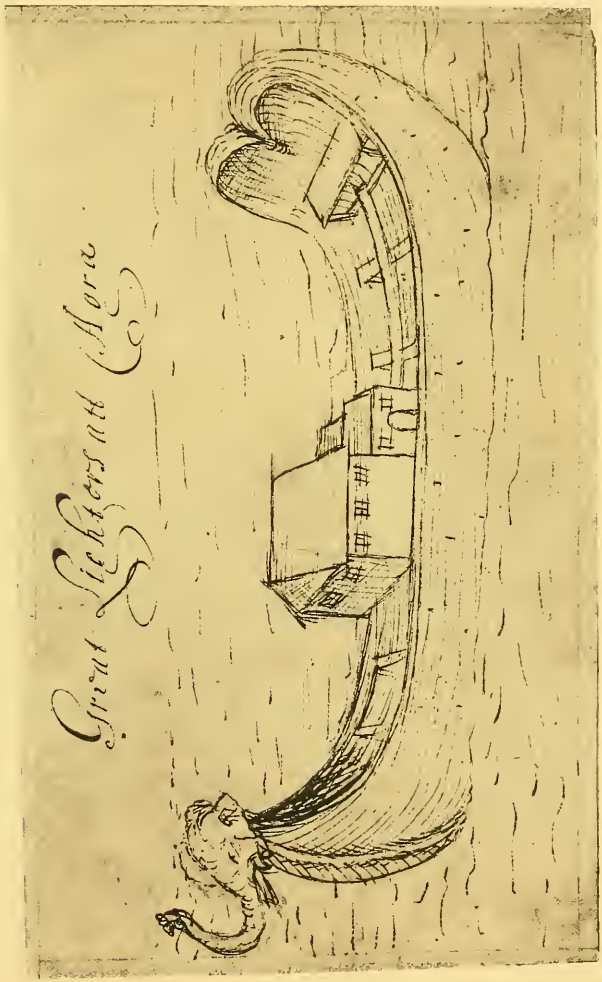
[3] See Illustration No. 18.

[4] This account and the drawing attached to it (Illustration No. 19) are interesting as totally disagreeing with the description and plans given by E. W. Smith in *Moghul Architecture of Fathpur Sīkrī*, Pt. III. p. 61.

[5] *Nīlgāī* (*rojh*), the painted antelope. See *ante*, *Relation* XII. p. 182.

[6] *Tinaja*, Sp. a water-jar. The *Harl.* copy has a marginal note, "A great Martaban [Pegu jar] or Jarre and to what use." For "Mortovan, Martavan, Martaban" jar, see *Ind. Ant.* XXXIII. 159.





No. 17. A GABBART OR *PATĒLĀ*. LARGE LIGHTERS ON THE JAMNĀ AT AGRA IN 1632
(See p. 224)

No. 18. THE HIRAN MĪNĀR, OR ANTELOPE TOWER, AT FATEHPUR SĪKRĪ
(See p. 230)

conteyne three or fower butts, wherein was put water of Ganges for the kings own drinckinge. For it is a Custome that the kinges of India drincke noe other water but of that river, bee they never soe farr off, which is brought on Cammells backs in brasse or Copper vessells[1]. About 3 Course off lies Rupbaz [Rūpbās] where are the quarries of those redd stones, which supplye all their parts for the principall buildings, as the Castle of Agra, this place, Great mens howses, Tombes, etts.[2]

The figure of the Kings Stable, mentioned on th'other side, is somewhat after this manner, conceived only to serve in faire weather[3].

The 26th February 1632/3. In our waie hither (Neembera [Nībhērā], 8 course), wee came to Connoway [Khānwā], where I found Mr Fremlen, whoe had sent the Carts away before to Neembera. About Noone wee had much thunder and windes with such a deale of dust (which is usuall about Agra some monethes before the raynes), that wee could scarce see on[e] another. After followed aboundance of raine which accompanied us to Neembra, where wee pitched our Tent for that night. Heere wee found Backur Ckaun [Bākir Khān], whoe was newly come from Oreshaw [Orissa][4]. Wee had intreated him that our Caphila [*kāfila*, caravan] might goe with his Laskarre [*lashkar*, camp], to which hee seemed very willinge, promiseing to further us in what hee could. This way wee conceived would bee beneficiall to our Masters in saveing such

[1] "His Majesty...both at home and on travels, drinks Ganges water. Some trustworthy persons are stationed on the banks of that river, who dispatch the water in sealed jars." *Āīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, I. 55. See also vol. II. tr. Jarrett, pp. 120—121; Tavernier, ed. Ball, II. 253—254; Ovington, pp. 208—209.

[2] Rūpbās, 10 miles south-west of Fatehpur Sīkrī, is still noted for its quarries of excellent red sandstone (Agra stone). See Tieffenthaler, I. 170.

[3] See Illustration No. 19.

[4] See *ante*, p. 166. Bākir Khān was on his way to Ahmadābād to take up his post as Governor of Gujarāt.

Customes which otherwise would bee forced from us on the way.

The 27th February 1632/3. By reason of wett weather (it haveinge rayned all night) Backur Ckaun made a moccame [*makām*, halt] or dayes rest. About noone there was such a Tempestious shower of raine mingled with haile, that the like hath seldome bene seene, especially att this tyme of the yeare. It lasted neere halfe an hower.

Sondrey Sorts of Executions and Punishments.

Heere, as I was told, the Ckaun cawsed a fellowe to bee throwne to owne [one] of his Eliphants that was more furious then the rest, whoe instantly Catchinge hold of him, sett his foote on him, and with his trunck tore him in peeces one quarter from another (to this I was not present)[1], hee beinge one of others that had Committed a Robberie, *vizt.*, Backur Ckaun [Bākir Khān] amongst his necessaries for accomodation, had a silver Cotte [*khāt*, bed], or att least wise plated over, which, because it might not bee hurt by Ladeinge and bindeing it on a Camell or Cart, was carried on mens shoulders. This said Cott was way laid and surprized by a Company of Theeves, this fellow being one of them. Sometymes this manner of execution is used by the Kinge and great men, Alsoe throwne to doggs bredd for that purpose. Other tymes to wilde beasts, Yea, sometymes appoyntinge certaine men to teare the offendour with their teeth, of which Cuttwall Ckaun was said to bee one, Commaunded thereto by Jehangueere [Jahāngīr] because hee was a bigg fellowe and had a good sett of teeth[2]. Other tymes to bee tyed to an

[1] Mundy is only describing what he heard. An elephant would take the culprit and throw him on the ground by his trunk, and then kneel on him.

[2] This is extremely unlikely, and Kotwāl Khān is not a verifiable name. The *kotwāl* was a police officer, and the Kotwāl Khān of the text was probably a confidential attendant on Bākir Khān.

Eliphants legg and soe to be dragged upp and downe the streets till hee die. Theis afore mentioned are not soe usuall, but the ordinary manner of execution and punishment is Cutting of heads, Imprisonment [and] the Corula [*korlā*]. The rich most comonly free themselves by force of money but the poorer sort suffer.

A Corula what it is.

The Corula is a whipp of Twisted Cord about a fathome longe, with a handle about a Cubit, from which it goes smaller and smaller to the end. Of this they receive 50, 60 or 100 stripes, accordinge to their offence. There are of theis Corulaes which I have seene that have a kinde of a brasse rowell woven into it, haveing 4 ends or poynts each, and stand about 5 or 6 inches one from the other, I meane each rowell. With theis they will cruelly torture a man (many tymes to death), fetching off Skin and flesh and all[1]. The Comon Justice is called a Cuttwall [*kotwāl*, police officer, magistrate], which are in every Cittie and Towne.

Of the Eliphant.

Although Eliphants are els where largely discribed, yett I will add heere two or three words. They are generally swart, neere to black, their Teeth in their upper jawe, Joynts in their feete, for I have seene some (on which great men used to ride) that have satt or layen downe on their bellies and upp again as suddainely as any horse or bullock Could doe possiblye, which is by reason of their short leggs, wherein they differ much from all other Creatures from the knee downewards, seemeing like a Stumpe or halfe Cutt off[2], also in their Trunck, and the

[1] Bernier, ed. Constable, p. 228, speaks of "the korrah, that long and terrible whip hanging at every Omrah's gate."

[2] But Mundy in his drawings makes his elephants' joints turn the wrong way, *i.e.* as a horse's, whereas they turn like those of a monkey. See Illustrations Nos. 12 and 13.

females in their place of generation which lyes right under their bellies where the Cowes udders are placed, and the duggs of these are close to the fore legs.

The 28th February 1632/3. Wee came to this Towne (Biana [Bayānā], 6 course), betwene which and Futtapore [Fatehpur Sīkrī] were about 250 or 300 men sett on Stakes by Mirza Laskarr [Mīrzā Lashkar], Governour heere[1], being of Rebells and theeves by him taken, this way heretofore being much pestered with them and very daungerous for passengers. Heere is made the best Indico in all India and hereabouts nothing inferiour[2]. By this stands the fairest Beawle [*bāolī*] in India, as I have formerly discribed it[3].

The 29th February 1632/3. Wee made another moccame [*makām*] by reason Mirza Laskarree feasted the Ckaun [Bākir Khān]. The Towne adjoynes to very high hills.

The first March 1632/3. (Soroto [Sūrōt], 6 course). About 1½ Course from Byana wee past through Shecundra [Sikandarābād], neere which is a ruinated Castle on a hill, a part whereof being sepperated from the rest is environed with a wall, some 2½ miles in Compasse and about ¾ of a mile upp, where ascended, I saw nothinge but ruynes of howses etts. Water it hath none alofte, but is supplyed from the other side of the said rock or hill[4], where is a prettie valley to bee descended by stepps or staires. This

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[1] There are two personages, alive in 1633, who might have been the official named—Jānnisār Khān, Yādgār Beg, created Lashkar Khān by Shāh Jahān; and Mīrzā Lashkarī, son of Mukhlis Khān; but I have been unable to connect either individual with Bayānā.

[2] See *ante*, *Relation* XV. p. 222. In Akbar's time Bayānā indigo was worth Rs. 10 to 12 per *man*. See *Āīn Akbarī*, tr. Jarrett, II. 181. See also Tieffenthaler, I. 172; Dalrymple, *Oriental Repertory*, I. 314.

[3] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 101 and note.

[4] There is still existing a *bāolī* in the Fort, near the lower gate. See *Archaeol. Survey of India*, XX. 80.

was auntiently the seat of Shaw Shecunder [Sikandar Shāh Lodī, d. 1510], King of India[1].

Within ¾ Course of the Towne is a Trench or Channell made by Raine water, called Guddakhall [Gadda Khāl, ravine], well knowne heereabouts for robberies continuallie comitted heere[2]. Two Corse farther is the prettiest tanck I have yett seene in India, fowre square. The water is of the ground, att every Corner a well, the descent finely contrived, with Copulaes on pillars, Chowtrees, etts., within side.

The 2d March 1632/3. Wee pitched neere the Towne (Hendowne [Hindaun], 5 course) on the further side from hence. Backur Ckaun sent his sonnè Mirza Facur [Fākhir][3] before to Ahmudavad [Ahmadābād] to take possession of the Government there in his name, with order to proceede 16 Course a day.

The 3d March 1632/3. This Towne (Somt ca sara [Sōp], 9 course) was dispeopled through sicknesse.

The 4th March 1632/3. (Bamangame [Bāmanwās], 7 course). About noone I tooke my leave of Mr Fremlen and Dongee [Dhanjī][4], whoe lefte mee to looke to my Charge, and they returned for Agra.

The 5th March 1632/3. There is a little Castle [Rajolī] overlookes this Towne (Lollsoote [Lālsōt], 7 course), which lyes on the side of a hill as doe many others; [the inhabitants] most part rebells. Heere is some base Indico made.

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[1] Mundy is describing the fort of Bījāgarh or Vijaimandargarh, known also as Sāntipūr. See *Archaeol. Survey of India*, VI. 54—73 and XX. 79—88; Finch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, IV. 44—45; De Laët, tr. Lethbridge, p. 74.

[2] Here is a marginal note—"Guddakhall, a theevish place."

[3] Mīrzā Fākhir, second son of Bākir Khān, had the rank of 2000 after his father's death. In 1648 Shāh Jahān gave him the title of Khān and the office of Mīr Tūzak (Master of the Ceremonies). He died in 1688. I am indebted to Mr Beveridge for this information.

[4] See *ante*, p. 79.

The 6th March 1632/3. (Jampa [Jāmpdā], 5 course). Wee travelled under the Hill, not encountringe any thing worthie notice.

The 7th March 1632/3. Some 3 course short of this place (Chatsoo [Chāksū], 7 course), wee passed by a Towne [? Lohārī-kā-pura], out of which came three or four fellowes, whoe carried away an Oxe out of our Caphilla [*kāfila*] belonginge to some of our Bulloaches [Balūchīs], whoe had bought him and laden him with graine to carrie to Guzaratt [Gujarāt] to releive their necessetie with it in tyme of that great dearth (which began att my Comeinge away and yett continued in Some part[1]), Upon Complaint to the Ckaun [Bākir Khān] wee tooke three of the Townes people along with us to use them att our pleasure till they returned the Oxe, which stayed not longe, for att our Monzull [*manzil*, halting place] it was brought us, with provision and all[2]. This Towne stands on a little riseinge, reasonable bigg, with an old paire of Castle walles. Close to it is a faire Tanck by which Backur Ckaun pitched[3].

The 8th March 1632/3. Wee made a Moccame [*makām*, halt], there being sett upp an extraordinarie great and high pavillion close to the water, and Masons sett on worke to make a Chowtree [*chabūtrā*], where Backur Ckaun meant the next day to sitt his Nouroze [*nauroz*, New Year's Day].

The 9th of March 1632/3. Wee made an other moccame by reason the Ckaun did solempnize his Nourose aforesaid with all the Magnificence the way could affoard, as by shooteing off his shutternall[4] or Cammell peeces (because

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[1] See *ante*, p. 38, and Appendix A.

[2] Here is a marginal note, "A Robberie — Restitution."

[3] Chāksū, a very ancient town, 25 miles south from Jaipur, stands on rising ground in the midst of a plain. For a description of the great tank on the west side of the town, see *Archaeol. Survey Reports*, VI. 116—120.

[4] *Shuturnāl*, a swivel or small gun placed on a camel.

they are fitted on Cammells backs), in number 16, beating of Drumms, whereof hee hath with him 6 or 7 paire, to bee carried on Eliphants backs, of which one paire weigh 16 Maund Jehangueere, which is neere 1000 [lb.] weight English[1], sounding of his trumpetts, haveing by report when hee came from Oreshawe [Orissa] drums of silver and trumpetts of gold, which now the King is possessed of, as also Jewells and 9 great Eliphants.

But to return to our Nourose, There was also the fightinge of furious Cammells, called Bugdanees [Baghdādī]. The afternoone hee feasted all his Cheife Favourites and followers. Att night all the Tanck was sett round about with 3 Rowes of lights. They keepe this feast as their New yeares tide.

The Kings manner in sitting out the Nouroze.

Att this tyme in Agra, the kinge sitteth out upon his throne or Tackhe [*takht*], of which everye kinge hath his owne, there being one now makeing for this[2], that by Computation cannot be worth lesse then 4 Courourees [*karor*, crore] of rupees, (Every Courouree is 100 Lack and every Lack is 100000) which, in our money, is fower millions and three hundred thousand pounds sterlinge[3]; All of pure gold, curiouslye engraven, enamelled and sett with diamonds, Rubies, emraldes, Saffiers, etts. prettious stones, taken out of the treasurie. I say the king sitteth out nine dayes under mightie high, rich and stately

[1] This makes the Jahāngīrī *man* to have weighed about 62½ lbs.

[2] Mundy is alluding to the celebrated Peacock Throne of Shāh Jahān, completed in 1634. See Mandelslo, pp. 46—47; Elliot, *Hist. of India*, VII. 45.

[3] This computation must be wrong for two reasons: firstly it makes the value of the rupee only a little over 2*s.* 1*d.*, whereas it must have been worth at least 2*s.* 3*d.* at this date; secondly the actual cost of the Peacock Throne is now estimated at something over a crore of rupees, equal to say one and a quarter million sterling in 1632. See Sirkar, *Wealth of Ind* (*Anecdotes of Aurangzib*), pp. 159—160.

pavillions of Cloth of gold etts., with his Amrawes or Lords about him, all makeing the greatest shews of magnificence and mirth they can, in feastinge, presentinge, recreatinge, with severall shewes and pastimes, and dauncinge wenches, fightinge of Eliphants, etts.[1]

There is also att this tyme a Bazare or markett kept within the Moholl, where his weomen are. Thither repaire the wives and daughters of all sorts, noe man daringe to refuse the sendinge them if the king require them (although of the greatest Amrawe). Theis [the vendors] being of Jewellers, Goldsmithes, Mercers, Grocers, etts. Theis haveing their places appoynted to displaye their wares. The king cometh with the Sultana etts. weomen, himselfe playing the Broker. They all take what they like and have notes given them by those weomen that can write. They [the vendors] deliver the said Notes to their husbands and [who] are accordingly paid out of the kings treasurie. This they doe because the Kinges weomen are never suffered to goe abroad, that they may then see the varieties[2], curiosities etts. necessaries that are in the Cittie or els where[3].

The 10*th March* 1632/3. Wee sett out before day and came hither (Peepeelegame [Pīpalgām, Pīplo], 6 course) about 10 a Clock in the morninge, meeting by the way 4 or 5 who carried Faggotts of rodds like Switches. I asked what they ment. It was told mee that by the Holynesse [of] Qfauz Mondeene [Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-dīn Chishtī], whoesoever had a rodd of those in his hands should not bee bit by any venimous thinge, as Snake, Scorpion, etts.; and

[1] For other contemporary descriptions of the keeping of the "Nourous," see Hawkins (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, III. 48; Roe, ed. Foster, pp. 142—143.

[2] The *Harl.* copy has "rarities."

[3] These fancy bazaars on New Year's Day were instituted by Akbar for the amusement of the ladies of his harem. See Latif, *Agra*, pp. 217—218; *Aīn Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, I. 276—277; Bernier, ed. Constable, pp. 272—273.

they carried them to Agra where they sold them for 5 or 6 pice each, bringing them from Adzmeere [Ajmer], where they growe and where also is the Tombe of their said Saincte[1].

The 11th March 1632/3. Haveinge removed att Midnight, wee came hither (Mozeabad [Mozābād], 11 course) about nine in the forenoone. The way from Lolsoote [Lālsōt] plaine with some litle hills heere and there, which appeared in the plaine like Islands in the Sea; many theeves, water scarce and wood. Wee pitched hard by Joogneca Taloo, [Jogī kā talāo][2], in which were a number of wilde ducks which (because they are not suffered to bee hurt), come close aboard the Shoare without shew of feare. This Priviledge they have from the Raja of this place.

The manner how great men travell.

Backur Ckaun sent his Peshconna [*pesh-khāna*, advance-camp] before. To give you to understand what it is, I will relate the manner of great mens travellinge through the Countrie. First (as before), they send away their Peshconna (which is a Sutte [suite] of Tents, Cannatts[3], etts. accomodation) to the place where they meane next to rest, hee in the meane tyme remaineinge in another sute of Tents, etts. The which, when hee begins to sett forth, is carryed 2 dayes Journey forward, *vizt.*, where hee intends to stay the morrowe. When himselfe is on the way, There first goe certaine Elliphants before him about ¼ mile distance with flaggs, then the measurer of the way[4], then troopes of horses, and among them other Eliphants with drumms on

[1] Obviously a charm of local origin and probably of a transitory nature, invented for the benefit of the shrine attendants of the time.

[2] "The tank of the *fakīr*." The party halted at a similar tank on the other side of Ajmer twelve days later.

[3] *Kanāt*, canvas walls of a tent, or for an enclosing wall round a camping ground.

[4] See *ante*, *Relation* VI. pp. 66—67.

their backs, continually beatinge a kinde of March; and now and then the Trumpetts sound. Then a great number of flaggs carried by Footemen. Then cometh himselfe, either in a palanqueene, if it bee darke (with Caracks [*chirāgh*, earthen lamp][1] or great lights before him), or hott or dirtye weather; els on horseback or upon an Eliphant[2]; Severall servants about him, some to beat away flyes, others carrye Fanns to keepe away the Sunne, others with Coole water, with divers others[3]. Then come his favourites, then the Cohouree [*kūrī*] or maine bodie of horse and foote; then, after all, his Lumberment [baggage] and people of service, as Cookes, Horsekeepers, Frosts[4] or Tent setters, water bearers, Cahares [*kahār*], etts. there beinge of these alsoe gon with the former Peshconna, it being now the turne of this to goe 2 dayes forward, haveing also drummes with them on Cammells, It being the Custome of Caphilaes, Banjares [*banjārās*], etts. to have them [*i.e.*, drums when] travellinge the Countrie.

In this Towne [Mozābād] is made yerely four or five hundred Maunds of base Indico.

Mirza Zilkurne the chiefest Christian in India made Taggueere.

Seven Course Northward lyes Sambar [Sāmbhar], the Jaggueere [*jāgīr*] of Mirza Zilkurne [Zu'lkārnain, Alexander] of 1000 horse pay, each horse 25 rupees per moneth, whoe is now putt out [from his governorship in Bengal] and made Tagguere [*taghīr*, dismissed], himselfe wife, Children

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[1] Mundy has here mistaken the *chirāgh* or small oriental earthen lamp for the *mash'al*, cresset or torch.

[2] Here is a marginal note—"Great men of India travell with greate multitude of noyse, shew and ostentation of greatnes and state, as doe the Inferior sort according to their abillities."

[3] For similar descriptions, see Bernier, ed. Constable, pp. 359—360; Manucci, ed. Irvine, II. 67.

[4] This is an early instance of the use of "frost" for *farrāsh*, a servant whose chief business it is to spread carpets.

and servants in prison because the King is informed hee hath store of money and demaunds of him 60 lack[1], haveing sent Pioneers [investigators] to search and digg his howse. Before I came away [from Agra] hee offers 5 Lack, which will not bee accepted, soe remaines still prisoner. Hee is a Christian and the Cheifest in all India, formerly in favour[2].

Att Sambar is a Myne of Excellent white salte much esteemed of, and serves for great mens uses, being carried to all parts[3].

The 12th March 1632/3. Heere (Bandersunder [Bandar Sindrī], 9 course), wee pitched by a Tanck full of fowle; our waie hard and gravellye.

The 13th March 1632/3. Att 4 in the morninge wee stayed heere amonge the Hills [Arāvallī Mts.], (Setila [now Satpura], 6 course), our Cammells and Oxen not being able to followe Backur Ckaun, who went [on] to Adgemeere [Ajmer]; our waie stonie lookeinge like Marble.

Some 7 Course off is Nurnoulee, from whence are brought all your Marble stones[4], wherewith the kinge is supplyed for his buildinges, there being noe lesse then 500 Carts Comeing and goeinge in its carriage [*i.e.*, for its transport].

Wee past by Kissungurre [Kishangarh], a Castle with a Cittie under it, Hard by a learge Tanck [Gūnd Talāo]. One Course hence wee pitched by a small Towne [?Sāwantrā], where were as many more ruynes, also of a Castle; the Countrie round about Hillye. Not farr from

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[1] This is an exaggeration. See Appendix E, where the amount is given as 8 *lakh*.

[2] For an account of this very interesting personage, see Appendix E.

[3] Sāmbhar, on the borders of Jaipur and Jodhpur, is the most important of the lake sources of salt in Rājputāna. See Tieffenthaler, I. 312—313.

[4] By "Nurnoulee" Mundy apparently means Narwār, where there are quarries of pink marble.

hence is a Copper myne[1]. Also from hereabouts is brought greate store of that wee call Muscovia glasse[2], which is digged out of the ground, there being much of it to bee seene in the place where wee pitched our Tent.

The 14th March 1632/3. The way hither (Adgemeere [Ajmer], 7 course) plaine, till wee came within 2 Course of it, and then it proved hillie and stonie. The Cittie it selfe stands under a high Mountaine [Tārāgarh, 2855 ft.], whereon is a Castle, with many others [hills] on every side, high, steepy and ragged, especially one, where is the Tombe of Shaw Madare, a reputed Saint amongst them[3]. Att the foote of the adjoyninge hills are many ruinated buildings, formerly belonginge to the Amrawes in Jehanguerrs tyme, whoe resided heere about 3 yeres, by whose Moholl or Pallace wee rested, which now lyes to ruyne[4]. Shaw Jehan hath also his hard by a faire Tanck, named Anasawgur [Anā Sāgar][5], with a garden wherein are many Cipresse trees.

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[1] There are numerous abandoned copper workings in Jaipur State.

[2] Here is a marginal note—"Muscovia glasse, or slode," the last two words in Mundy's own writing. "Muscovia glass" is an obsolete term for common mica. The word "slode" does not appear to be known elsewhere. The ordinary Indian vernacular terms for mica are *abrak* and *talk*, whence talc.

[3] The hill meant is probably that now known as Nāg Pahār, about four miles west of Ajmer, and the "Tombe" a Madārī *asthān*, always a temporary structure. The Madārī *fakīrs*, spread all over India, are by way of being a Musalmān sect connected with the Sūfīs, but they are really an imitation of the Hindu *sannyāsīs*. Their eponymous founder was the foreign Saint Shāh Badīu'd-dīn Madār (now usually known as Zindā Shāh Madār or Zindā Pīr, "the ever-living Saint") of Makanpur in Cawnpore District, where there is an important shrine to his memory. He died on 17 Jamādīu'l-awwal A.H. 838=20 Dec. A.D. 1434. See Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of North West Provinces*, *s.v.* Madari; Herklots, *Qanoon-i-Islam*, pp. 241—243.

[4] Jahāngīr was at Ajmer from Nov. 1613 till Nov. 1616, and it was here that Sir Thomas Roe presented his credentials as ambassador. Jahāngīr's palace was in the Daulat Bāgh which was laid out by him.

[5] Shāh Jahān erected five marble pavilions, as pleasure houses, on the Anā Sāgar lake.

Ajmer—The Castle.

Wee ascended the Castle Hill. Wee found it 1½ mile upp, and steepie, with windeinge and turninge soe that Eliphants may goe upp, but there is a neerer way, to be only ascended and descended by men, and that with difficultie[1]. On the Topp is a plaine of 1½ mile in Circuit, taken in with a strong wall, within which are about 100 dwellers, and a prettie Messitt [*masjid*] wherein is interred Scied Miran Ching [Sayyid Mīrān Chang], a Suare [*sawār*, horseman], whoe won this part of the Countrie from the Rashpootes and reputed a Sainct, of whome they faine some Miracles[2]. Within the said Castle or plaine is a naturall rockie Concavitie, which receives so much raine water as serves their necesseties. There are also little gardens and Fresh greene trees and flowers.

Qfuaz Mondeene, one of the most esteemedst Saints in all India[3].

After my Comeinge downe, I went for Curiositie to see the Tombe [of] Qfauz Mondeene [Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-dīn Chishtī] standing att one end of the Towne. This is the Saint to whome King Ecbar [Akbar] came barefoote on Pilgrimage to have children (as in the begining of this Journeye)[4]. Wee comeinge by way of Lolsoote [Lālsot]

[1] For other travellers' descriptions of Tārāgarh, see Thévenot, Pt. III. p. 48; Tieffenthaler, I. 310; Heber, *Journey from Calcutta to Bombay*, II. 31; and for a detailed account of the fort, see *Archaeol. Survey of India*, XXIII. 39—46.

[2] Mundy is referring to Sayyid Husain Chang, also known as Mīrān Husain and Chang Sawār. He was a follower of Muhammad Ghorī who defeated the Rājpūt chiefs and annexed Ajmer to the Delhi kingdom, in 1193. Sayyid Husain was subsequently made Governor of Ajmer. In 1210 the Mers and Solānkīs of Gujarāt made a night attack on Tārāgarh and massacred the Muhammadan garrison. The tombs of Sayyid Husain, his followers and his horse stand on an enclosure known as Ganj Shahīdān.

[3] To this title, which is a marginal note in the original, is added, "(if not cheif) by the Moores."

[4] See *ante*, p. 226.

sawe not the Munnaries, but [except] att our setting out, for 20 or 30 Course. Hether also (as report went) Shawe Jehan would have sent his 2 elder Sonns two monethes since to take their oathes to be true and obedient to him, and Never to undertake any thinge against him, fearing (as hee might Justlie) that they would doe to him as hee did to his father [Jahāngīr] and elder brother [Khusrū][1]. The goeing in is through a great gate, the floore paved with marble white and black, kept verie pollisht with the bare feete of those that enter in, for all must leave their Shooes without. Haveinge passed 2 Courts, you come to the place of his Tombe [the Saint's], there sitting att the entrie on either side divers old Mullares [*mullāh*] or Churchmen. The place is a Chowtree [*chabūtrā*], some $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards high and 2 yards square every waie, on the which was a raile, and within that his Monument or Herse, in forme like theis ordinarie ones, but covered all over with flowers. Right over it hung divers lights, globes of steele, Estridges [ostrich] Eggs, etts.[2] When I came forth, one presents mee with a rodd, another with seedes, another with Sandall, another with water, etts., all belonginge to their Sainct, for which they must have your goodwill (some pice)[3]. Great resort of people continuallie from all parts thronging in and out. Of him also are reported a world of false miracles.

The 15th March 1632/3. A poore Towne (Budwarree

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[1] Mundy is stating a current rumour. There is no evidence to show that Shāh Jahān's elder sons, Dārā Shikoh and Shujā', were sent to Ajmer at this time.

[2] For the *dargāh* (or pilgrimage shrine) including the tomb of Mu'īnu'd-dīn Chishtī, Akbar's patron saint, who came to India in the 12th century and is said to have died at Ajmer *c.* 1235, see Finch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, IV. 61; Herbert, p. 61; De Laët, tr. Lethbridge, p. 92; Thévenot (who calls the Saint "Cogea Mondy"), Pt. III. p. 49; Tieffenthaler, I. 310—311. For detailed accounts of the building, see Gladwin, *Hist. of Hindostan*, p. 36; Tod, *Rajast'han*, ed. 1829, I. 319—323; *Archaeol. Survey of India*, XXIII. 35—39.

[3] For the "rodd," see *ante*, p. 239. The other objects would be also articles blessed by the Saint for use as charms.

[Badhwārā], 7 course), the waie stonye, for 4 Course under the hills.

The 16th March 1632/3. This Towne (Arrea [Rēā], 8 course) lyes under a litle Hill [1399 ft.] that stands by itselfe, all the Countrie plaine, without either wood or water, great store of Chace, or Antelopps, Hares, partridges, etts.[1] Wee had much trouble by a parcell of sand in a Bottome [hollow], soe that it was almost two nights and one daye before wee could gett our Carts hither[1].

The 17th March 1632/3. From Arreea hither (Mirta [Mertā], 7 course) the way plaine, litle wood and water, but better peopled and manured [cultivated] then former dayes Journys. This Towne was auntiently the head of this province called Marwa[2]. It stands on a litle riseinge, faire to see too. About the midle of it are six or seven Dewraes [*deurā*] or Hindooe Churches in a Cluster, of verie curious workemanshipp for matter of buildinge, especially the Inside of the Copulaes (whereof they most consist), but their Imagery is not proportionable. One of the said Dewraes is of white Marble[3]. This lyes in the Jaggueere [*jāgīr*] of Raja Gutzing [Gaj Singh][4] as farr as Jalore [Jālor], which by him is kept in good order, soe that people passe without molestation. Theis Inhabitants are Rashpootes [*rājpūts*] which goe after a more free and Souldier like manner then other Hindooes, rather like Masters then Subjects.

Hereabout instead of horses, they ride on high Cammells, commonly 2 and 2 in a long Sadle, which goe a great pace.

[1] Here are marginal notes—"Good huntinge and fowlinge"; "A bad peece of way."

[2] In Akbar's time Mārwār formed part of the *sūbah* of Ajmer and comprised five *sarkārs* (districts). Mertā was taken by Akbar in 1562 from the Rāhtor Rājās. About twenty years later the Emperor restored it to the Jodhpur chief, Rājā Udai Singh.

[3] Finch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, IV. 61, and De Laët, tr. Lethbridge, p. 93, both mention three "pagodas" at Mertā, remains of which still exist. See also Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 169 *n.*

[4] Gaj Singh, eldest son of Rājā Sūr Singh, was ruler of Jodhpur 1620—1638.

This Towne is reasonable bigg, verie well peopled, although of noe great Traffique and Commerce. Here wee spake with a Puttamare [*pathmār*] or foot post, whoe told us that under Abbooghurre [Abūgarh] there were certaine Cammells laden with Indico violently taken out of the Dutch Caphila by Theeves, and [who had] slaine one of their Bulloaches [Balūchī]. Also that beyond Seedpore [Sidhpur] eleven Cammells were carried away as they were feeding. Also att Arreea [Rēā] wee were told of 12 more carried away feedinge, all belonginge to ditto Caphila.

The 18th, 19th and 20th March 1632/3. Wee made Moccames [*makām*, halt], by reason Backur Ckaun had occasion to take upp money to pay his Souldiers.

The 21th March 1632/3. Wee arrived about 9 a Clock in the morninge (Betun [Bitān], 7 course), noethinge extraordinarye.

The 22th March 1632/3. (Peeparee [Pīpar]). The way stonie as it is in some places of Cornwall, beinge of the same kinde of Stone, which wee call Moore stone[1]. Good huntinge, for 5 hares were chaced by the people to and againe [to and fro] just before my face, besides one that was killed by one of the Carters in another place.

I thinck this Companie *vizt.*, Laskarre [*lashkar*], Peshconna [*pesh-khāna*], Caphila [*kāfila*], Zungs [*sang*][2] returning etts. merchants tooke upp seven miles att length at the least, Soe that some are att their Journies end before others sett out[3]. The water in our 2 former Journies[4] 14 or 15 Fathome deepe, and heere not above 2 or 3. In our waie hither was a fruitefull vallie of Corne, as wheat, barley

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[1] Moorstone, a kind of granite, found chiefly in Cornwall.

[2] See *ante*, *Relation* XII. pp. 182—183, for Mundy's comments on the pilgrims whom he met in his journeys.

[3] Here is a marginal note—"The length of the Laskarr etts."

[4] Mundy is alluding to his journeys from Surat to Agra and from Agra to Patna and back, which were both made at a different season of the year.

etts.[1], which lay along by a Channell of a River [Jojrī, Jhojrī], of which sort wee passed many from Agra hitherto, but noe runninge water in any of them att this tyme. Only in the raynes, or litle after, they are supplyed and runn like rivers.

Opium—Post—Bang.

There were also many feilds of Poppie of which they make opium, called heere aphim [*afīm*] by this Countrie people, much used for many purposes. The seede thereof they putt on their bread, I meane of white poppye. Of the huskes they make a kinde of Beveredge called Post, steepeing them in water a while, and squeezeinge and strayninge out the liquor, they drinck it, which doth enebriate. In the like manner they use a certaine [plant] called Bang [*bhang*] workeing the same effect, soe that most comonly they will call a druncken fellowe either Aphimee [*afīmī*, opium-eater], Postee [*postī*, opium-drunkard], or Bangguee [*bhangī*, *bhāngī*, drug-taker], although Muttwallee [*matwālā*, drunkard] is the right name of a drunckard. Heere is a litle old Castle with a faire entrance.

The 23th March 1632/3. It was morninge before some of the Carts arrived (Jooguee ca Talao [Jogī kā Talāo], 9 course), The Laskarr being already departed. The Countrie a litle better refreshed with water. This is called Jooguee ca Talao by the reason of the residence of a Jooguee [*jogī*] or Faqueere [*fakīr*] by it[2]. This Night a horse was stolne out of the Laskarre and a man hurt in divers places. The Countrie plaine, only heere and there a litle hill very farr distant one from an other.

The 24th March 1632/3. Within 4 Course off our

[1] Tieffenthaler (I. 338) also remarked on the fertility of the land in the neighbourhood of Pīpar.

[2] The "Jouges gong" (*gāon*, village) of Finch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, IV. 61.

monzull [*manzil*], (Cacanee [Kakonī], 9 course) was a wood of Thorne trees [*babūl, kīkar, acacia arabica*] of about 1½ Course longe; Trees of any sort scarse All the way. A few poore Townes environed with hedges of thornes 8 or 9 foote high, heaped together to keepe out pilfringe Theeves. The Inhabitants generallie Rashpootes [*rājpūts*]; this from Adgemeere [Ajmer] hither. One Course farther wee past by Ghora [Garhā], a Towne now ruinated through the late famine that raged in Guzarratt [Gujarāt], and it seemes reacheth hetherto, there beinge to bee seene aboundaunce of Skulls and bones of men and beasts. The ruynes are of a fine reddish Moore stone[1]. Of the Countrie all this way there is scarce one part of a hundred manured [cultivated] or put to use, the rest lyeing desert and waste, although verie good ground. Corne (as wheat and barlye) now ripe, which is watered by Mans Labour, as is all other graine, gardens or any thinge els that they would have growe (generally all India over); I meane from the end of the raynes or begining of October to the begining of the raynes againe or end of May, 15 dayes more or lesse.

The 25th March 1633. (Danoora [Dandārā], 8 course). Wee past by a great Channell wherein runneth very much water in tyme of Raine, but now drie, and verie fine white Salt in the bottome, the earth all hereabouts saltish and consequently the water brackish[2], soe that there are but few Wells, Travellers beinge supplyed by Pooles of water rather then Tancks[3]. Scarce a Sarae in eight or ten dayes Journie. Nothinge [like] soe good accomodation this way as there is from Agra towards Puttana, where there are store of good Townes, tillage [cultivated fields], Talaoes [*talāo*, tank] and faire Saraes every foote.

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[1] See *ante*, p. 246.

[2] The "great Channell" is one of the streams of the Lūnī river, whence salt is obtained by evaporation.

[3] Mundy means that the water supply here was from natural and not artificial pools.

The 26th March 1633. Wee began to ingulfe our selves among the Hills [Arāvallī Mts.], being on either side of us, but as yett some distance of, very stonye, ragged and uninhabitable to see to, not any water in 7 Corse; a poore Countrie. The Towne (Ckunducke [Khandap], 9 course) somewhat large, environed with your usuall thornie fence, every howse standinge by itselfe, in forme like our round Corne Stacks in the feild though not soe bigg nor soe high, hetherto not haveing seene any other of this sorte[1].

The 27th March 1633. This morninge wee came in Companie of a Caphila and Tanda [*tāndā*][2] with graine bound for Guzaratt. Wee stayed by this Towne (Bowrane [Bharwānī], 3 course), being out of possibillitie to attaine Jalore (where Backur Ckaun arrived this day), there being noe other place to stay by the way that had any water. Hetherto from Adgemere is accompted Marwa [Mārwār][3], and from henceforward Guzarratt [Gujarāt], and heere our Carters supplyed themselves with Oxen, about 200 bought and Changed.

The 28th March 1633. This Towne (Jallore [Jālor], 9 course) stands under a verie high hill [1200 ft.] whereon stands a faire Castle about two miles in Compasse, the Towne inhabited generallie with Rashpootes.

The 29th March 1633. (Modra, 9 course). I went by way [in the direction] of Dantewaree [Dāntwāda] to dispeede the Cammells along with Backur Ckaun, whoe proceeded forward that way with all expedition[4], myselfe with the

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[1] Mundy is describing the beehive huts, made from roots and grass, erected by the poorer *rājpūt* classes in the desert tracts. The thorn fence serves as a protection against sand-drifts and hot winds, and also as a cattle-pen.

[2] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. pp. 95—96.

[3] Here is a marginal note—"The end of Marwa and beginning of Guzaratt."

[4] Here is a marginal note—"Our Caphila forsaken by Backur Ckaun."

Carts to goe by waye of Sheroy [Sirohī], It being impossible for our Oxen to hold out, haveinge made tryall, but beinge come thither, our Cammellers affirmed that their Cammells Could neither hold out, soe resolved to goe togeather.

The 30th March 1633. I returned to Jallore (9 course). Although this bee also a trade waye, yett it is verie desert, overgrowne with bushes, a poore strawe village. In 4 or 5 miles the way cloyed with sand[1], waters scarse and wells about 20 fathome deepe.

The last of March and first of Aprill 1633. Theis two dayes the Carters spent in mending their Carts that were broaken striveinge to follow the Laskarre. In this Interim I went upp to see the Castle [at Jālor], the gate whereof was plated with iron, with great spikes sticking out close together of a foote longe in the upper halfe, to prevent the Eliphants, with whome belike in this Countrie they use to force open gates[2]. It is unlevell and rockie within the walls, only 4 or 5 plotts where might bee made good accommodation of liveinge, especially one next the gate where is a Beauly [*bāolī*] or pond partly naturall and part by Arte, in forme of a long square about 16 yards longe and 5 or 6 broad by Computation[3]. It is very Cleire and deepe with fish in it, a verie prettie place. The water is of the rayne that descends from the lesser hills within the walls, beinge, Castle and all, on the topp of one great rockie mountaine; the said Well being Cutt out of a meere [an entire] Rock, all the sides of it as upright as a wall, with stepps to descend to the water. This place is now out of

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[1] Compare Tieffenthaler, I. 332.

[2] Mundy is alluding to the third or innermost line of defence. Finch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, IV. 61—62, says the castle has three gates, the first "plated with iron," the second "not so strong" and the third "strongly plated with Pikes sticking forth like harping Irons."

[3] Here is a marginal note—"A dellicate Beauly, well or pond." Finch, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, mentions the "goodly Tank," see also Tavernier, ed. Ball, I. 87.

request; 8 or 9 poore dwellers. Sometymes heere resort Hindooes to a Dewra [*deurā*, temple] not yett finished. It is the neatest and prettiest that I have yett seene of that sort of Coarse white Marble. There is also a Messitt [*masjid*], a Moholl [*mahal*, palace] and a tombe of one of their Peeres [*pīr*] or Saincts[1]. Nothinge els remarkeable but its great hight, farr and faire prospect, especiallie from one Chowtree [*chabūtrā*] on the topp of a litle Rock which overlookes all the rest. It had a Copula, but they say the Peere, beinge angrie that men went first to see that before they visited his Tombe, caused thunder and lightninge to carrie away the said Arch[2]. As yett never a River betwene Agra and this place[3].

The 2d Aprill 1633. (Bagra [Bāgrā], 7 course). We went about to eschewe a Trackt of sand, passeinge by the hills over against Jallore, which are the highest, steepest, Craggiest, barrenist and rockie that I ever sawe yett[4]. The best quallitie that they have is that they take not upp above seven or eight miles in length.

The 3d Aprill 1633. This (Shehana [Siwānā], 3 course), is a great Towne of Hindooes, whoe not only refraine from killinge any liveing Creature but (as they say) also from Cuttinge downe Trees[5].

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[1] The "Messitt" is evidently the three-domed mosque attributed to Alāu'd-dīn Khiljī (1296—1316), still in good repair. There are also temples and palaces within the walls. The "tombe" of the "Peere" is that of Malik Shāh, whom Finch, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, refers to as "King Hassward." See *Rājputāna Gaz.* III. A. 189. For other accounts of Jālor fortress, see De Laët, tr. Lethbridge, p. 27; Tieffenthaler, I. 333.

[2] Here is a marginal note—"An angrie Saint."

[3] Mundy travelled in the dry season when there is little or no water in the Rājputāna streams.

[4] Here is a marginal note—"Unproffitable mountaines."

[5] This reads like a confused reference to the Dhūndiā Jains, who carry the reverence for life to an extreme extent (see *New Imp. Gaz.* XXI. 115) and the cult of Krishna, which is prevalent in the neighbourhood. According to the latter, sacred groves, which are numerous, cannot be cut. See Crooke, *Popular Religion*, II. 87, 90 ff.; *Bombay Gaz.* VIII. 453.

This day, in an unluckie hower, my Curiositie carried mee to see one of those Craggie hills[1], on whose topp there appeared the very forme of a high Tower, immagininge it to bee somewhat neere, but found it to bee twice as farr. Passinge over rocks, Clefts, etts. daungerous places, heere was the true patterne of a fearefull barren desert. Men I sawe none, only Owles out of the Clefts, wilde Peacocks, foxes, hares, wilde Catts, great Snakes, etts. and not a dropp of water to bee found. In fine, I gott upp with much labour, leaveing behinde mee fragments of my torne apparrell on thornes and bushes as I passed. On the verie topp of this round picked [peaked] hill stood a huge stone, upright, appearinge afarr of like a mightie high tower[2], being by my Computation neere 9 yards from the topp of it to the foote and some 8 yards about[3], The strangest worke of Nature that I have seene (another is the Porto de Sainte Adrian in Biscay)[4]. The head of this is bigger then the foote of it, lesseninge from the Topp. There is but one [peak] appearinge to sight one waye, although other waies there are two to bee seene, the one much higher then the other, as they are both in one, they shewe after this manner[5].

I brought 4 men out with mee. First Mohabutt [Mahābat], cheife, who haveinge come one quarter of the way, lingered behinde and returned. Then Peero [Pīrū] that Carried my Launce; hee came halfe waye and stayed behinde. Only the other twoe, whome I accompted lesse able, they kept mee Companie, but ascended not the hill.

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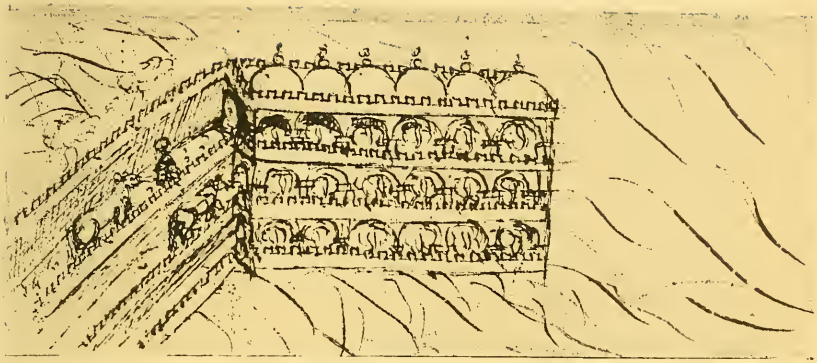
[1] Here is a marginal note—"An impertinent Curiositie." Mundy seems to have ascended an offshoot of the Arāvallīs, the Chappan-kā-pahār (Saucer Hill) near Siwānā, 3199 ft.

[2] Here is a marginal note—"A monument of nature."

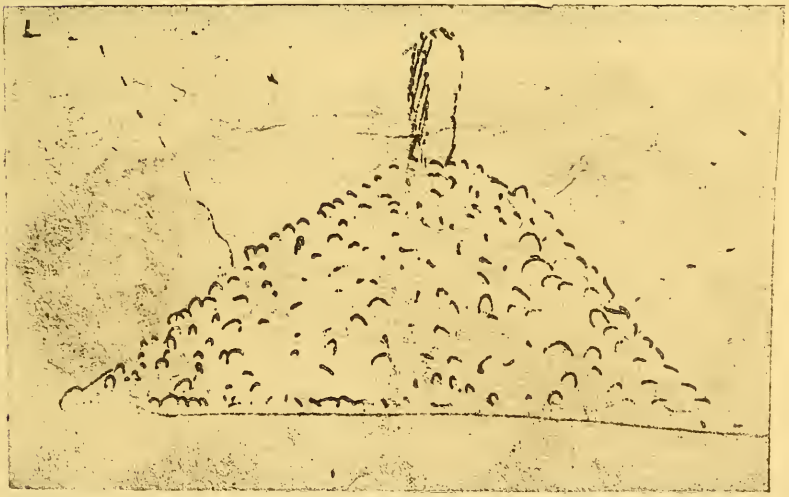
[3] In the *Harl.* copy Mundy has corrected these figures, and gives '25 yards" and "45 yards" instead of "9" and "8."

[4] See vol. I. pp. 141—142.

[5] See Illustration No. 20.



No. 19. AKBAR'S STABLE AT FATEHPUR SĪKRĪ, AS IT APPEARED IN 1633 (see p. 230)



No. 20. THE PILLAR ROCK ON THE SUMMIT OF CHAPPAN-KĀ-PAHĀR, ARĀVALLĪ MTS. (see p. 252)

Beeinge now come on the other side with great difficultie and daunger, over great steepie rocks, betwene deepe Clefts etts., I found my two fellowes that stayed for mee, soe tooke our way towards the Tent (it being late). Wee went to and againe [backwards and forwards] listning, fearinge to happen on some theevish Cottages that are thereabouts. As wee passed on, wee heard whoopinge and callinge, and although wee were assured they were our owne people seekeinge for us, yett answered not for feare of the worst. When wee were come to the Tent, it was told us there were about sixty of our men abroad seekeinge of mee.

A man slaine.

A litle after wee heard an outcrye about quarter of a mile off, which after wee learned to bee this. Five or six of those mountainous theeves mett our people in the darke, and shooteinge amongst them, hitt Peero aforementioned through the Neck, that hee fell downe. The rest seeinge that, and imagininge them to bee a great manie, tooke to their heeles and left their shooes behinde them for hast, followeing their leader Mohabutt (who promised more in his presence and words), 2 or 3 exceptinge, whoe lurkeing among the bushes, shott among the rogues, cryeinge and calling after their fellowes to returne for shame, that there were but 4 or 5 of them. But all would not serve, for they durst scarce looke behinde them for feare. Next morning they went to looke for their consort, whoe they found dead and stripped of all hee had. They brought him home and buried him under a Tree hard by our Tent. They [the thieves] alsoe tooke another of them that was not soe nimble as the rest, And tooke from him his Armes and Clothes, *vizt.*, sword and buckler, Shash [*shash*, turban], Coate, Doopata [*dopattā*], girdle, breeches and shooes, unto whome I made some satisfaction. Wee complained to the Raja of the place, whoe brought with him the cheifest of

the next Towne, whome was suspected, but it being a Night businesse and noe evidence of the Delinquents, It was concluded that those whome wee thought Culpable should thrust their Armes into hott boylinge oyle[1], where, if they were guiltlesse, the oyle would not hurt them, but if faultie, it would burne and scald them. This belike is the countrie manner of Tryall in doubtfull matters[2]. But it was not then put in execution.

The 4th and 5th Aprill 1633. Wee made two Moccames for the Cammells whoe were not yett come from Modra.

The 6th Aprill 1633. About Noone wee arrived heere (Oonde [Ud], 7 course), the countrie well tilled and Inhabited, but water scarse.

Tumbling Tricks.

Towards night came Bazighurres [*bāzīgar*], Men that use dauncinge, tumblinge, etts. Feats[3]. And this among the rest. One Takes a pole of about three yards longe, which hee setteth upright upon his head, holdinge it with his hands, while a boye clambers up to the Topp of it (where is fastned a board halfe a foote broad) and with his feete stands upon it, when the other, lettinge goe his hold, daunceth about with him. More then that, the Boy Stood with his head on the said board with his heeles bolt upright in the Ayer, while the other daunceth with him as aforesaid, not once touching the pole with his hands as per this Figure[4].

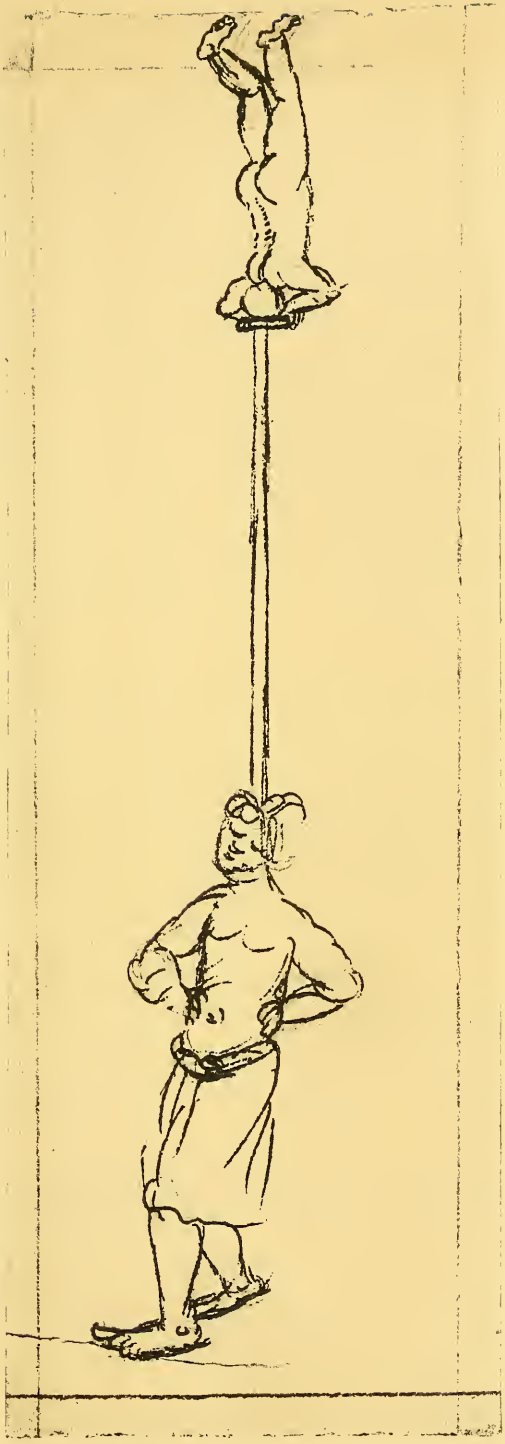
Another tyme I sawe one sitting on the ground with his leggs a Crosse after this Countrie manner, then

[1] Here is a marginal note—"A straunge manner of triall."

[2] Trial by ordeal was fully recognised in early Hindu law. The ordeal of boiling oil was used only for persons of inferior degree. See Crooke, *Things Indian*, *s.v.* Ordeals.

[3] For feats of "tumblers," see Terry, p. 190; Thévenot, Pt. III. pp. 77—78.

[4] See Illustration No. 21.



No. 21. *BĀZĪGAR*, ACROBATS

poyzeinge himselfe on his hands, hee brought upp his body backward very leasurely by degrees without touching the ground till it came over his head, his leggs remaininge in the same posture. Theis twoe Tricks mee thought were somewhat strange. Your best in this kinde are the Decannees [Dakhanīs], which goe upp and downe the Countrie, as doe the rest. There daunceinge is full of antick Gestures, faces and postures, flinging out their leggs and bestirringe themselves as fast as ever they can, others playing and singing the while. But the daunceing wenches doe it with a kinde of grace, turneinge, traceinge and windeinge their bodies, and with it head, Armes, and hands, acte many wanton, womanish and some lascivious gestures. Themselves, as all the rest, keepe on singinge and playeinge, without any pawse or intermission untill the daunce is ended.

The 7th Aprill 1633. Att our setting out towards this place (Sheroy [Sirohī], 4 course)[1], our Cammells overtooke us. This Towne lyes under the Hills[2], plentie of all things, one only Beawly [*bāolī*], which serves both the Inhabitants and strangers. Att night the Raja thereof[3] came from some 7 course off (hearing of the Caphila), and within 2 howers after departed againe on swifte Cammells, It being, as I said before, the Custome of the Countrie hereabouts [to ride on camels].

The 8th and 9th Aprill 1633. Wee made Moccames to agree and pay the Jaggatt [*jagāt*] or Custome, which att this place is extorted for all Merchandize passing this way.

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[1] Here is a marginal note—"Heere are very good sworde blades made." Sirohī has long been noted for the make and temper of the sword blades manufactured there. See Tod, *Western India*, p. 71.

[2] Sirohī lies on the slope of the Saranwā hill, 28 miles from Abū.

[3] The Rājā of Sirohī at this date was Akhai Rāj, *c.* 1630—1673.

Upon report of 600 or 700 Coolees[1] said to lye in waite for this Caphila, wee hired 8 horsemen and 115 Footemen to goe with us to the place of Suspected daunger.

The 10*th Aprill* 1633. Our Convoy came hither (Macrouree [Mākrorā], 4 course) to us. This Towne lyes neere the entrance among the Hills [Mt. Abū].

The 11*th Aprill* 1633. Wee sett forward by Morninge accompanied with our afore mentioned Convoy and entred the straghts of the Hills; in many places but one way to passe, there being bancks and thick Woods on each side. About the midle of this passage is a plaine, the place where the Dutch Caphila was assaulted[2], being alone without People. Signior Solomon[3] with the Cheife of the Cammellers etts., about some occasion stayed behinde att Sheroy [Sirohī], soe that 60 theeves or thereabouts issued out upon that part of the Caphila that was neerest and scattered many Cammells laden with goods, of which they carryed away 8 Cammells and 11 Fardles Indico. The rest of the Cammells and fardles they [the Dutch] found in the wood. One bulloache [Balūchī] was slaine and buried by the high way side. Signior Solomon left 2 servants to demaund and recover the goods, whereof they had gotten in parcells about 3 fardles Indico. The rest, with the Cammells irrecoverable, being carryed away by the people of Rana, a great Raja hereabouts[4]. God bee praised, wee

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[1] *Kolī*, *kūlī* was a term applied to villagers in the 17th century and specially extended to the marauding Mīnā Rājpūts, who were the bane of travellers. Herbert (p. 76) calls them "that rascall race of Coolyes, that so unjustly and theevishly robd the Caffilas." See also Bernier, ed. Constable, p. 88 and *fn.*

[2] Here is a marginal note—"A daungerous place where the Dutch Caphila was assaulted and robbed." The robbery apparently took place in the south-east corner of Sirohī State, in the rugged district known as Bhākar, then notorious as a refuge for marauders and outlaws.

[3] See *ante*, *Relation* VI., note on p. 65, for Salomon Voorknekt.

[4] Mundy is apparently alluding to Rānā Jagat Singh, ruler of Mewār (or Udaipur), the State adjoining Sirohī. Jagat Singh was in power from 1628 to 1652.

escaped from forraigne violence, but our owne disorder and dissention amonge our selves had like to have wrought us more hurt, for the Cammellers and Carters fell out about the way, the Carts breakeing into the files of the Cammells, soe that from words they fell to blowes and wounds. The Jutts [Jāt, Jatt], whoe had charge of the Carts, haveing hurt one of the bulloaches [Balūchī] on the brest verie daungerously.

Att our arrivall to our Monzull (Nytora [Nitārā], 4 course), the Bulloaches and Cammellers would have revenged themselves, butt the Jutts came to meete them, with the Carters, with their weapons and peeces charged; theis being both Hindooes and the Bulloaches and Cammellers Mussellmen [Musalmāns], there beinge upwards of 220 of each side[1]. With much adoe the matter was pacified for that tyme, but had they gone by the eares, it might have endaungered much of the Companies estate. This is the effect of joyninge Cartes with Cammells and Jutts with Bulloaches in one Caphila.

This day wee travelled under Abbooghurre [Abūgarh], a verie great and learge mountaine, the outerside exceeding high, steepie, stonye and ragged, but alofte within those Craggs is all playne, where are 12 Townes haveing water, graine, etts. maintenaunce sufficient of themselves[2]. Next the place where wee pitched is the highest hill that I have yett seene in India, haveing 4 ridges, each of them higher then other, one within an other, all very ragged[3]. But the farthest att the Topp appeared just like a Sawe or teeth of

[1] Here is a marginal note—"A great fray like to have bine."

[2] See Tod, *Western India*, pp. 73—126, for a description of Abū, its towns and temples. The fact that so observant a man as Mundy, like the other travellers of the 17th century, makes no allusion to the extensive Jain temples on Mt Abū is interesting as a proof of the faithfulness with which the people maintained their exclusiveness.

[3] Here is a marginal note—"A notable cragged hill." The peak meant is probably Gūrū Sikr, the Saint's pinnacle, 5653 ft., the highest point in the isolated cluster of hills.

some wilde beasts all alongst. Wee were now inclosed with the aforesaid Hills. From Jallore hither wee payd for our water, and from hence wee dismissed our Convoy.

The 12th Aprill 1633. (Ametola [Amthāro], 7 course). Wee still continued our way under the high and ragged hills of Abboo, manie Townes, much Tillage [cultivated land]; Noe water from all those hills. Lyons there bee[1], also Porcupines. On the sides of the aforesaid hills growe many bambooes, which, with the winde waved too and againe, and soe rubb each other that they kindle and burne all that is neere them, soe that in the night wee might see severall great fires burning att once, occasioned as before[2]. This is generally knowne and observed.

The 13th Aprill 1633. By Sunne riseinge wee came hither (Mungtola [Mungthālā], 5 course), through woods of great Trees, especially Burres [*bar*, banyan-tree][3], from whose branches fall downe certaine thridds, which, comeing to ground, take roote and become a great body, soe that there bee some of those trees seeme like a litle grove, the severall stemms like soe many severall trees which alofte joyne one to another. For my part I never saw but one worth notyce, I thincke betwene Suratt and Agra, but att what place I knowe not. Heere were also many Tarree [*tārī*, toddy] trees, haveing not seene any that I can remember since my Comeing from Agra. Heere ends the hills of Abbooghurre, leaveing it on our right hand, the way upp one and a halfe Course a sterne of us. Passeing by it, the howses begin to be covered with Tiles[4].

The 14th Aprill 1633. Wee made one Moccame to pay our Custome to Chanda, the Raja of this place, whoe

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[1] The last lion was shot on the western slopes of Abū in 1872.

[2] Here is a marginal note—"Fire strangely kindled."

[3] Here is a marginal note—"Burre or Arbore de Raiz (Port. 'tree of roots')." See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Banyan-tree.

[4] Mundy was approaching a more civilized district, where better dwellings would be found. Bhīl houses are often capacious and tiled.

stands in feare of the Raja of Sheroy [Sirohī], soe comes not neere himselfe[1], but sends his people some 1½ mile out of Towne amidds the woods, and, standing by the high way, told [counted] our Cammells and carts as they past on, and after carryeinge us behinde a hill hard by, wee then payed our Jaggatt [*jagāt*, custom]. Hee acknowledgeth not any duetie att all to the Kinge, but lives upon his guarde, and on the least rumours, flies to the mountaines[2].

The 15th Aprill 1633. This (Roe [Rohā], 3 course) is a verie great Towne, well peopled and provided. It hath a great Channell of a river [the Banās], but noe running water only pooles heere and there and water within a foote, digginge for it. Wee had heere verie good fresh fish. Theis people are called Coolees[3]. There were two brothers named Ardast [Hardās] and Mandon [Mandān], the latter dwelt in the Towne, the other in Sheroutra [Sarotrā]. They are both dead and their Sonnes succeede them[4].

The 16th Aprill 1633. This (Sheroutra [Sarotrā], 3 course) is the other brothers Towne, not soe bigg as Roe [Rohā].

The 17th Aprill 1633. (Godora [Ghod], 5 course). Some 1½ Course from the Towne in the passage, which is

[1] Here is a marginal note—"Chanda, a notorious Rebell." Chāndā was the son of Prithwī Rāj who murdered Rāj Singh, the chief of Sirohī, *c.* 1630, and was himself slain by Rao Akhai Rāj, Rāj Singh's son. Chāndā ravaged a portion of Sirohī State, in revenge for his father's death, and remained in outlawry as stated by Mundy.

[2] Tod, *Western India*, pp. 68—69, remarks on the local importance of Sirohī as a place of halt for commercial caravans in the 17th century and speaks of its ill repute owing to the habits of rapine of its Rājpūt chiefs.

[3] See *ante*, note on p. 256.

[4] I have found no other mention of these brothers, who must have been quite small chieftains. Rohā and Sarotrā are now in Pālanpur State. When Tod travelled from Sirohī to Sarotrā in 1822, he found only a path practicable for foot passengers and oxen, and was obliged to send men with hatchets to clear the way for larger animals. He does not mention Rohā, which had probably sunk into insignificance. *Western India*, pp. 135—136.

[in the mountains] somewhat deepe and straight [steep and narrow], are divers paires of posts with holes to put long barrs a Crosse, to hinder the said passage on all occasions, theis [inhabitants] being also noe better then Rebells. About 3 course farther I sawe that which I much longed for, *vizt.*, a Springe, which, issueinge out of a litle banck with a full and cleire streame, ran into a litle brooke adjoyninge, whose greene and pleasant bancks represented unto my memorie Englands flowrishinge and fruitefull soyle, aboundinge in theis kindes. The side towards Agra belonging to the Raja of Sheroutra, and that of Suratt side to the Kinge, whoe hath a Governour in Seedpore [Sidhpur][1]. All the people in generall goe halfe naked with bowes and arrowes, swords and daggers, haveing Comonly two strings and sometymes three to their bowe, both bowe and strings made of Bamboo [*gulēl*, pellet-bow][2]. To day some Sand. In most of the Townes where wee payed Jaggatt [*jagāt*] The Raja himselfe or his Sonnes will come to visitt and sitt with you in very freindly manner, sending you a present of refreshinge, etts. But you must pay your Custome: If not, looke to your selfe and stand upon your guarde.

The 18*th Aprill* 1633. (Goola [Golā], 7 course). The Countrie (as yesterday) verie pleasaunt, litle or noe woods, runninge water, now and then verie much sand, badd for Carts. Wee left all the hills beyond us, two litle ones excepted by the Towne, five miles distant from any other.

The 19*th Aprill* 1633. To daie (Mogurwarra [Magarwādā], 5 course), Champion [champaign, flat] with some woods, wherein were divers fruite trees, as Mangooes,

[1] For "Sheroutra" we should apparently read "Sheroy" (Sirohī). Mundy was now leaving Rājputāna and entering what was then the *sūbah* of Gujarāt.

[2] Mundy is describing the wilder Bhīls whose attire consists of a rag round the head and a scanty waistcloth. All Bhīls are armed with the tribal weapons, bows and arrows; the headmen and others of consequence carry swords. See Crooke, *Tribes and Castes*, *s.v.* Bhīl.

Kheernees [*khirnī*], Peelooes [*pīlū*], Golares [*gūlar*, wild fig], Mowa [*mahuā*], etts.

Sundrye fruites.

Kheernees resembles a date as bigg as the topp of ones litle finger, somewhat long, yallowe and verie sweete.

Peelooes, a litle fruite like Currence that growe in England, verie pleasant, both white and redd.

Mowa, as bigg as a Grape, white and verie sweete, with which they make rack [spirit] by distillation[1].

Goolares, a frewte like a blew figg within and without, but somewhat lesser, of a sweete taste. Of all theis wee found ripe (Mangoes excepted), whose tyme is about the end of May. The Countrie pleasant to see to, in round riseings, verie daungerous for Theeves, because it is in the borders of the Kings rule and the Rajaes. Last night they stole away one of our Oxen, leading him away over our people as they slept. Att the end of this Towne (Mogurwarra [Magarwādā], 5 course), comes in the way [road] from Dantewary [Dāntwādā].

The 20th Aprill 1633. Not soe good ground as yesterday, more woods, especiallie Peeloo [*pīlū*] trees laden. A daungerous place neere the Towne (Seedpore [Sidhpur], 6 course) soe brought a Convoy of 25 souldiers from the last [town]. As under Abbooghurre [Abūgarh] the Carters and Cammellers fell att odds, soe in this verie place the Jutts [Jatt] and Carters to wounds and blowes robbing each other like mortall enemies. This place has a faire prospect, a mile of handsome howses and stronglie built[2]. Inhabitants halfe Moores halfe Hindooes, in the Jagguerr [*jāgīr*] of Muzaffe Ckaun, resident in Piran Putton

[1] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 119.

[2] Sidhpur, in Baroda State, stands on the steep northern bank of the Saraswatī river.

[Pātan][1]. Heere is a Hindooe Dewra [*deurā*] ruinated, It seemes by Moores envieing its beautie, adorned on the outside with the best Carved worke that I have seene in India, verie spacious and high, yett not a handbreadth from the foote to the topp but was Curiously wrought with the figures of men and weomen etts. their fabulous stories. Now the said Edifice is defaced[2] by throweing downe the Copulaes, Arches and pillars thereof, breakeing the Armes, Leggs and Noses of the said Images, Thus they have handled it without, but it is much worse within, servinge for a howse of Office, where they alsoe threw the Carcasses of those that dyed by famine, The Skulls and bones of them to bee seene. Heere is a faire tilled village [Lālpur] under the Towne, a Channell of a River [the Saraswatī] and water within three or four foote of the superficies.

The 21th Aprill 1633. Wee made a Moccame [*makām*] by reason there went a way a Banjare [*banjārā*][3] that night of 2000 Oxen, and there being but one Well, not able to suffice both, For avoyding of quarrells wee stayed heere one day. They [the carriers] had neere 100 small Shott and 6 paire of Drummes with a multitude of other people.

The 22th Aprill 1633. This Towne (Nowa [Unāwā], 7 course) is halfe [inhabited by] Moores and halfe ruynated, faire woods of Kheernees, Peelooes etts. in our waye. Att our setting out from Seedpore, the Carts were there much hindred by Sand.

The 23th Aprill 1633. Our Cammells sett out att

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[1] Pātan (Anhilvāda, Anhilpur) in the Baroda State, called also Pīrān Pātan on account of the number of shrines (*dargāh*) of saints (*pīrān*) it contains. For the transfer of Muzaffar Khān from Sāsarām to Pātan, see *ante*, *Relation* VIII. p. 132.

[2] Here is a marginal note—"A Dewra ruinated and disgraced." Mundy is describing the Rudra Mālā, dedicated to Siva, which was sacked and converted into a mosque by Alāu'ddīn Khiljī (1296—1316), and further devastated by Ahmad Shāh (1410—1443).

[3] Here, as in *Relation* VI. (see *ante*, p. 55), Mundy confuses the carriers with their charge. He means that a *tāndā* of oxen conducted by Banjārās left the place.

3 a Clock in the morninge ([for] Messana [Mehsānā], 8 course), but the Carts not till breake of day, by whome I stayed ; the place verie daungerous for Theeves.

A daungerous place—A man hurt.

Close by us lay a poore fellowe, to whome came a Coolee [*kolī*], and, snatchinge att what hee had, ran away with it, the other runninge after him to recover his Clothes. There were 3 Coolees more that looked on, bidd him not to trouble himselfe for that was gone, and with that word shott him in the Shoulder. The Arrowe head stuck soe fast in the bone that with much adoe it was gotten out. Thus they raigne without Controll.

Another kilde.

Fower Course in our way is Bandoo [Bhāndū], a Towne of Rebells, where, some of the Inhabitants standinge by the way to tell [count] our Cammells (because they also heere exacte Custome), our people Immagininge them to bee pilferringe Theeves, tooke one of them, whoe, after they had misused him, he was lett goe. The rest ran into the Towne and raised more Company, out of one of whose hands the partie misused takes a bowe, and ayming att him that wronged him, he hitt him in the bottome of the belly soe that hee dyed presently [immediately] after. This was an Armenian, a Christian named George[1]. His body was layed on a Cammell and brought hither where it was buried.

Upon this came Sundrie horsemen Armed in Coates of male and a number of foote standing on their guard and demaunding Jaggatt [*jagāt*], whome haveinge satisfied, wee past 1 Course farther to Dao [Motī Dau], where wee must pay as much more, findeing heere a farr greater

[1] In the margin is added—"This was of our Company."

number of foote and horse, whome wee also contented. From Agra itselfe hither, and as I understand, to the Gates of Ahmudavad [Ahmadābād] is a desert, barren and theevish Countrie[1], noe Saraes [*sarāīs*], meat nor drinck to bee had, except Graine and water, the latter verie scarse. Our Carts being gon before, and not haveing money to paye our Custome, wee left 9 of our men in Pledge att Dao and Bandoo untill they had notice the money was paid in Messana [Mehsānā] to whome they should appoynt. This is a bigg stragling Towne with a Tanck by it. Heere Buckar Ckaun [Bākir Khān] had put 4 men on Stakes.

The 24th Aprill 1633. This day wee made a Moccame [*makām*], by reason our men came not yesterdaie as expected; but they came this morninge about 9 a Clock, and then [it was] too late to sett out. Att evening there were Theeves fell on our Cammells as they were feedinge, soe sent presently [immediately] to their rescue, and tooke one of them [the thieves]. The rest rann awaie, being in all 15. Hee that was taken defended himselfe as longe as hee had any Arrowes lefte. Haveing hurt one of the Balloaches [Balūchīs], wee brought him before the Deputie of Sheriare [Shahriyār], the Governour, whoe wee plainely saw tooke his part (and good reason for it, maybee hee should have part of the purchase). Soe, leaveing the Theife to his disposure, wee returned to our Goods.

The 25th Aprill 1633. Betwene this (Jurnucke [Jornang], 7 course) and Messana [Mehsānā], the way verie daungerous for Theeves, woods and Champion [champaign, plain] mingled. Under a Tree were 10 Tombes in a ranck, all of a bignesse and likenesse called Sciedgunge [Sayyid Ganj], being of ten Souldiers that were scieds

[1] "From Geloure [Jālor] to this Citie [Ahmadābād] is all a sandy woody Countrey full of theevish beastly men." Finch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, IV. 64.

[*sayyids*] slayne by the Coolees [*kolīs*]. Two or three Townes in our way, heaps of deadmens bones and multitudes of them scattered heere and there, the sad Trophees of the late mortall famine not yett extinguished.

The 26th Aprill 1633. (Pansere [Pānsar], 7 course). Aboundaunce of Kheernee [*khīrnī*] trees which are very learge, spreadinge and faire to see too, Also Peelooe [*pīlū*] trees, resembling the willowe; good ground, store of Partridges. Men staked by the high way by Backur Ckaun [Bākir Khān]. This Towne is in the Jaggueere [*jāgīr*] of Mier Shemisha [Mīr Shams], whoe was Governour of Suratt when I came to the countrie, removed thence by Complaint of the English to the Kinge[1]. Wee had a great gust of winde, dust, raine and haile, as wee had also yesterday [dust storms].

The 27th and 28th Aprill 1633. Our Carts sett out before day; but the Cammells not untill towards night, by reason their Packsaddles were wett, which would spoyle there Cammells backs. That night wee came to Adulla [Adalaj], 7 Corse, where wee found the Carts. The Cammells past forward to Chandungame [Chāndkherā] (10 course) with order there to stopp. The Carts followed Next morning where our Caphila was entire. There came from Ahmudavad [Ahmadābād] to meete us Mr Nathaniell Wyche and Mr Edward Knype[2].

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[1] Mr Beveridge has kindly supplied me with the following particulars, taken from the *Maāsiru'l-Umarā*, III. 492, regarding Mīr Shams. He was a Husainī Sayyid, was appointed to the government of Surat early in 1628 and was gradually raised in rank and honours until 1651, when he was made *faujdār* of Pātan. In 1654 he was again at Baroda. He died in June 1657. There is no allusion either in the *Maāsir* or among the E. I. Co.'s records to the complaints of the English and the consequent dismissal of Mīr Shams, as related in the text. The arrival of a new Governor, Mīr Mūsā, is, however, recorded early in 1629, so Mundy's statement is, at any rate, partially correct. See *English Factories*, 1624—1629, p. 335; and 1634—1636, p. xv.

[2] Nathaniel Wyche, seventeenth child and youngest son of Richard Wyche, arrived in India in 1627 and served the Company at Ahmadābād and Baroda until 1631, when he was appointed Warehousekeeper

The 29th Aprill 1633. Wee came to the Cittie Ahmudavad (3 course), the Metrapolitan of Guzaratt [Gujarāt] and the auntient seate of their Kinge[1], incompassed with a faire Compleat wall, 10 Course about (although Comonly accompted 12), and with the Suburbs, 16 course. The Bazares and streets very large, faire and conformable, now halfe ruynated and dispeopled by the last famine. A prettie River [the Sābarmatī] runns by it. A verie faire Artificiall Tancke of 32 squares with stepps to descend, as that in Suratt, in the midle whereof stands a faire buildinge with a prettie garden with a litle Tancke in it, A longe and an Arched bridge, to come to it from the mayne[2]. To the said Garden every Eveninge

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at Surat. In December 1632 he returned to Ahmadābād. In April 1633 he applied for leave to go back to Surat, but was desired to remain to procure goods for the cargo of the *Mary*, the ship in which Mundy sailed for England. In April 1634 Wyche went to Masulipatam where he remained for a year. In 1636 he returned to England accompanied by a commendation of his "abilities and civil carriage." He subsequently became a member of the Court of Committees, and in 1658 was appointed President of Surat, where he died in 1659. See *English Factories*, 1624—1636; also *ante*, vol. I. Appendix B.

Edward Knipe was elected a factor in 1630, and on his arrival in India was appointed to "write under" the "Accomptant" at Surat. In Jan. 1633 he was sent to Ahmadābād to assist Nathaniel Wyche and was described as "diligent, pliant and obedient." In the same year he was ordered home by the Court on the charge of "exorbitant" private trading. He sailed in the *Jonas* with John Robinson and was implicated with him in the ill treatment of Robert Griffin (see *ante*, note on p. 186). On examination, the amount of Knipe's private trade was not found to be extensive, and the Court, since his offence was not "capitall" and in consideration of his being "a hopefull young man," overlooked his "error." In 1636 he joined Courteen's Association, and in 1655 made an independent voyage to India with Mundy as his assistant, as appears in the Appendix to the *Rawl. MS.* A. 315, fol. 220. See *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1630—1634; *English Factories*, 1630—1633; *Court Minutes*, 1634—1639.

[1] Ahmadābād, built in 1412 by Sultan Ahmad, grandson of Sultan Muzaffar, founder of the Gujarāt Dynasty, was the capital of the kings of Gujarāt until its capture by Akbar in 1572 when it became subject to Delhi.

[2] For contemporary accounts of Ahmadābād, its walls, and the celebrated Kankriā Tank a mile to the south-east of the city, see Herbert, pp. 61—62; Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 171; Della Valle, ed. Grey, I. pp. 96—98, 102; Mandelslo, p. 30; Thévenot, Pt. III. p. 8. See also Tieffenthaler, I. pp. 374—379.

there resort an Infinite number of Parratts that roost in the Cocotrees (as att Suratt the Staires [starlings][1] doe to the litle Island by the English howse). By the said Tancke is the Tombe of Captaine Browne, an English man and once Principall in Ahmudavad[2]. It is well kept and repaired. The Tancke is in Compasse att the least $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile English. It is the biggest of this kinde that I have seene in India.

The 12th May 1633. In this tyme wee howsed all the goods accordinge to order from Suratt, And this Morninge arrived Mr Reading and Mr Wilbraham, Factors, with Richard Bellfield[3]. Moreover, 15 English under the leading of Leiutenante Smith[4]. All theis came upp with a Supplie of money to the Factory.

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[1] The *Harl.* copy has "stares." Mundy means *mainā*.

[2] For a notice of John Browne, factor and versifier, who went to India in 1614 and was chief of Ahmadābād factory from 1616 till April 1620, when he "changed this life (noe doubte for a better)," see Roe, ed. Foster, I. p. 68 *n.* See also *English Factories*, 1618—1621, *passim.*

[3] There is no record of Joseph Reading's entertainment in the Company's service nor of his arrival in India, and the only other mention of his name is on the 4th May 1633, when he was ordered to assist Thomas Wilbraham in the charge of a caravan from Surat to Ahmadābād (*English Factories*, 1630—1633, p. 303). He died shortly after Mundy's arrival at Surat. See *infra.*

Thomas Wilbraham appears to have gone to India in 1626 under Richard Wylde's protection and to have subsequently entered the Company's service. In 1628 he was made "Clerk of the Stores" at Swally and in May 1633 was sent to Ahmadābād. In 1634 he sailed for England with Mundy in the *Mary*. In 1635 he was purser of the *William*, one of the Company's outward ships, and is last mentioned in 1638 as "late purser" of that vessel. See *English Factories*, 1624—1641; *Court Minutes*, 1635—1639.

Richard Bellfield's name first appears in 1630 as being detained at Surat to supply a deficiency in assistants. He came to Ahmadābād, as related in the text, in charge of a caravan. He was next appointed steward at Surat, *vice* Thomas Ashwell. In April 1634 he went to Masulipatam and is last mentioned in 1636 as among the factors in Bengal. See *English Factories*, 1630—1636.

[4] Lieutenant Osmond Smith arrived at Surat from Armagon in 1632, and for the next two years was employed in guarding the Company's caravans to and from Ahmadābād. His instructions in May 1633 directed him to keep his men "from drinking and quarrelling" and to maintain "good relations" with the Dutch. Lieutenant Smith returned to England with Mundy in the *Mary*. See *English Factories*, 1630—1633; *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1630—1634.

The 13th May 1633. Heere arrived Signior Vantwist, principall of Ahmudavad, Signior Salomon, principall of Agra, Signior Marques, Agent att the Court, Signior Isabrant, Cheife of Cambajet [Cambay][1], with divers other assistants of the Dutch Nation.

The 15th May 1633. I departed Ahmudavad, accompanied with Mr Wyche, Mr Knipe (English) and the Dutch afore named, and haveing Taken our leaves in the litle garden att the great Tanck, they returned to the Cittie and my selfe came to this place (Issun Pore [Isanpur], 2 course).

The 16th May 1633. This (Mahmud Avad [Mehmadābād], 10 course) is a handsome bigg Towne. By it are the ruynes of a kings Moholl [*mahal*][2], a sweete and pleasant River [the Vātrak] runninge under it (of whose waters the Governour of Ahmudavad and other great men drinck). It is not of it selfe very bigg, but heere and there makes many spreadinge Lakes, aboundinge

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[1] Jan Van Twist, chief factor for the Dutch at Surat 1633—1635, went on a mission to the King of Bījāpur in 1637. According to Valentijn he was a member of the Dutch Council at Batavia 1639—1643, when he seems to have returned to Europe. In 1648 he published at Amsterdam a *Generale Beschrijvinge van Indien.* See *English Factories*, 1637—1641, p. 23.

For Salomon Voorknekt, see *ante*, *Relation* VI., note on p. 65.

"Signior Marques" is Marcus Oldenburch who was then on his way to the Mogul Court as an emissary from the Dutch. He obtained a *farmān* from Shāh Jahān and died shortly after, in 1634, at Agra. See *Dagh Register*, 1634, pp. 194, 263; *Hague Transcripts*, nos. cccxvi, cccxviii.

The latest mention of Isbrand Pieterzoon is in 1634 when he was in charge of the Dutch factory at Agra. See *Hague Transcripts*, nos. ccxix, ccxx; *Dagh Register*, 1634, pp. 329—330.

[2] Mehmadābād, 18 miles south of Ahmadābād, was founded *c.* 1479, by Mahmūd Begādā of Gujarāt, who built the palaces there. The deer park was enclosed by another Mahmūd (1536—1554). The place is referred to in the *Āīn Akbarī* (tr. Jarrett, II. p. 241) as follows: "Twelve *kos* from Ahmadābād is Mahmūdābād, a city founded by Sultān Mahmūd in which are beautiful buildings extending to an area of 4 *kos* square. The whole is surrounded by a wall and at every half *kos* is a pleasure house and a preserve in which deer and other kinds of game are at large."

with excellent Fish[1], and fowle. Of the former wee were supplyed by our monyes, but of the latter by the dexteritie of Thomas Trott, an excellent English Shooter[2], whoe brought us in Peacocks etts. land and water fowle.

The 17th May 1633. Heere (Borabee [Boriāvī], 10 course) betwene some great Trees of Burre [*bar*, banyan], a poore Towne, greate store of wild peacocks of whome wee killed some.

The 18th May 1633. This (Charsoo [Kārchiā], 10 course) is also a poore Towne. In the midd way wee past by Wassett [Vāsad] Castle, and over the River [Mahī Sāgar] adjoyning to it[3], which flowes and ebbs, it being a Creeke of the Sea that comes from Cambayett [Cambay], about 40 Course hence. Mr Willbraham, Richard Bellfeild and my selfe, they in two coaches, I on horseback, past it over, but before wee could gett to th' other side, both horse, Coaches and Oxen were put to Swymme, Soe that the rest of our people with goods and Carts stayed on th' other side. In the meane tyme, from a Towne on the said River towards Cambayett, named Benkerree [Bhānpur], there came over the water by severall Companies about 100 Coolees [*kolīs*], Rebells[4], with longe Launces etts. Armes, of whome about twenty or thirty came to us three and besett us round, forbiddinge that

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[1] Here is a marginal note—"A curious river." Cf. Mandelslo, p. 28, "Mamadebath. This little City is...upon a pretty large river which is very full of fish."

[2] I have found no other reference to this individual.

[3] Mandelslo, who calls the Mahī Sāgar "Wasset river," says (p. 28) that "Wasset...is an old Castle partly ruin'd, built upon a high mountain, where there is kept a Garrison consisting of a hundred horse, who there received a certain impost of a Ropia and a half...for every wagon."

[4] See *ante*, note on p. 256. The predatory *kolīs* were the terror of travellers in those parts. Both Finch and De Laët speak of "a certaine Rajaw in the Mountaines" near Ahmadābād who could collect 17,000 horse and foot. "His subjects are called Colles or Quillees." See Finch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, IV. p. 63; De Laët, tr. Lethbridge, p. 351.

any should come over to us[1]. In fine, they said that one of us must come to their Captaine Called Nagga [Nāgā], whoe was hard by on a litle hill. To him I went, whoe received mee with great shew of Curtesie. Att length demaunded his Custome which all men pay when they come that way, the which wee payed and were quietly dismissed. Within quarter of an hower after, came downe the said Captaine with all his Rebells, and giveinge the watch word, fell suddenly to pillageinge of certaine Carts belonging to Morare [Murārī], a Hindooe, whome they carryed away with them perforce, also a horse, divers Oxen, goods, etts. This was done att Noone, when they were 7 or 800 people lookeing on, and none able or ready to help, it was soe suddainly done[1]. It was done out of revenge to the said Morare, whoe was formerly a great officer in Brodra [Baroda] and had vexed and done them great displeasure. After this exployte they returned over the water againe and wee past onward, but, for 2 or 3 Courses on this side, wee had a very strange, deepe and narrow passage, even just as much as a Cart Could goe in and noe more, a fitt place for theeves, which wanted not, for wee were molested divers tymes in that litle space and glad to content them.

The 19th May 1633. Wee came to this Cittie (Brodera [Baroda], 5 course), which is walled but not verie bigg[2]. Heere wee used to have a Factory, but now have none[3]. The Dutch have, for whome was Signior Arnold[4]. Through the great and earnest suite of Scied Shecam

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[1] Mandelslo, p. 28, describes a skirmish between the caravan with which he travelled and the outlaws in the same neighbourhood, some five years later.

[2] For a contemporary description of Baroda, see Mandelslo, p. 27.

[3] The English Factory at Baroda, established in 1614, was "discontinued" in 1633—4, "in regard to the misery of the tymes." It was re-established at the end of 1635.

[4] I cannot identify this individual.

[Sayyid Shikam], Sonn in law to Dellill Ckaun [Dalīl Khān], late Governour of this place[1], Wee left our Chirurgeons Mate to Cure the foote of a Moore [Muhammadan], a freind of his, which had bene a long tyme sore and almost growne to a Canker.

The 20th May 1633. (Caravan Sarae [Kārvān][2], 10 course). This day, as the former, very wilde and woody, a black ground full of Clefts and Cracks [cotton soil], as about Suratt.

The 21th May 1633. This Towne (Saron [Sārang], 10 course) as yesterdayes dispeopled through famine, exceptinge some Banianes that sell graine for Travellers.

The 22th May 1633. Wee came hither (Barroche [Bharūch, Broach], 10 course) by morninge, where wee found Mr Thimbleby[3] and Mr Yard[4]. This stands on a hill encompassed with a verie faire wall. It hath a fine prospect into the Countrie and the river Nerbadare [Narbadā], which runnes under it. It is about two Course

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[1] The only allusions I have found to Dalīl Khān are in November 1630 when the factors at Baroda were advised to obtain a *parwāna* to the *chaukīs* in Dalīl Khān's *jāgīr*, and later in the same month when they were directed to apply to "the deputies of Delill Ckaun" for the restoration of certain "fardles" of saltpetre. See *English Factories*, 1630—1633, pp. 95, 100.

[2] The "Karawanet" of Mandelslo, p. 27.

[3] Thomas Thimbleby arrived in India in 1632 "having been trayned up in England as a lynnen draper." In 1634 he was made warehouse-keeper and one of the Council at Surat. In Sept. 1635 he went as Chief to the re-established factory at Baroda, where he died early in 1636. See *English Factories*, 1630—1636.

[4] See *ante*, *Relation* v., note on p. 24, for John Yard's arrival in India, and *Relations* vi., viii. and xii. pp. 49, 79, 186, for Mundy's previous references to him. In 1634 Yard was sent to Masulipatam and in 1636 he took over the charge of the Bengal factories from Ralph Cartwright. In 1640 he was summoned to Masulipatam, whence he appears to have returned to Surat and thence to England to answer certain charges brought against him. In 1647 he was re-entertained in the Company's service. Nine years later, in 1656, Yard and Mundy met on the high seas, the former bound to Surat, the latter returning to England after his third voyage to India. See *English Factories*, 1634—1645; *Court Minutes*, 1644—1649; *Rawl. MS.* A. 315, fol. 231.

in Compasse[1]. Unto the 24th Currantt afternoone was spent in Clearing the Custom of the Musters[2] and passing the Carts over the River.

The 24th May 1633. By six a Clock afternoone wee gott to this place (Unclesere [Ankleswar], 3 course) being 3 Course from the English howse at Barroache.

The 25th May 1633. About nine a Clock wee came to Bereawe [Variāo][3], being 16 Course. Leaveing all the Carts att the River side, I with some other English went over, and came to Suratt to the English howse, where I made an end of my tedious Journey from Agra, from whence I departed the 25th February and arrived heere the 25th May as abovesaid, have gon and travelled 414 Corse, *vizt.*

From Agra to Seedpore [Sidhpur] 284 great Corse, att 1½ mile English per Corse amounting to Miles	426
From Seedpore to Suratt 130 small course, att 1¼ mile English per Corse amounting to Miles	172½
Corse 414 makes Miles	598½ [4]

At my arrivall heere there were but few liveing of those I left heere att my departure, the rest dead with the Mortall Sicknesse that imedeatly followed the famine. The names of those liveing att my departure are as followeth.

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[1] For the city of Broach and its stone walls, see Mandelslo, p. 26; Thévenot, Pt. III. p. 6.

[2] Both Thévenot (Pt. III. p. 7) and Tavernier (ed. Ball, I. p. 66) remark on the customs imposed at Broach on all imports and exports. By 'musters' Mundy means the bales of samples that he had procured at Patna.

[3] Variāo, on the Tāpti, two miles from Surat.

[4] Tavernier's estimate of the distance from Surat to Agra, *viâ* Ahmadābād, is "415 cos," practically the same as Mundy's, but his stages are different. Tieffenthaler (III. p. 27) makes the distance 669 miles. Mundy's second calculation is wrong, and for 172½ miles we should read 162½; but even so, he has, as usual, much underestimated the distance travelled, which was in reality about 680 miles.

+ The worshipfull Thomas Rastall, President[1]
+ Mr John Skibbowe, President[2]
+ Mr Gore, the Presidents brother in law[3]
× Mr Joseph Hopkinson, President[4]
+ Mr James Bickford[5]
+ Mr Richard Barber[6]
+ Mr Arthur Suffeild[7]
Mr Henry Glascocke[8]
+ Mr Ralph Rand[9]

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[1] See *ante*, *Relation* v., note on p. 23.

[2] See *ante*, *Relation* v., note on p. 22.

[3] There is no record of anyone of the name of Gore in the Company's service at this period. Thomas Rastell had married a daughter of Alderman William Gore, and the "Mr Gore" mentioned by Mundy probably came to India with his brother-in-law in 1630. See *ante*, *Relation* v., p. 23; also *English Factories*, 1630—1633, p. xv *n.*

[4] See *ante*, *Relation* ix., note on p. 139.

[5] James Bickford, elected a factor in 1614, served the Company at Surat and Ahmadābād till 1623 when he returned to England. In 1630 he came back to India as one of the Council at Surat. He died about the same time as Thomas Rastell, *viz.*, at the end of 1631. See Roe, ed. Foster, p. 329 *n.*; *English Factories*, 1630—1633; *Cal. State Papers*, *E. I.*, 1630—1634.

[6] Richard Barber, apothecary, went to India with Sir Robert Sherley in 1614. He was employed on an expedition to Persia in 1618 and subsequently served the Company at Broach and Baroda. In 1630 he was a member of Council at Surat. His return to England was delayed owing to his inability to complete his accounts in time to sail with the ships dispatched early in 1631. He fell a victim to the epidemic that carried off so many of the English and died at the end of the year. See *Letters Received*, vol. iii., *English Factories*, 1618—1633.

[7] Arthur Suffield, purser of the *Blessing*, 1622—1627, was taken from his ship to supply the needs of Surat factory, and became a member of Council in 1630. His time of service was then nearly expired, but he was prevailed on to remain in India three years longer at an increased salary. He, too, fell a victim to the pestilence at the end of 1631. See *English Factories*, 1618—1633.

[8] See *ante*, *Relation* vi., note on p. 69.

[9] Ralph Rand, entertained as purser's mate of the *Morris* in 1625, was taken from his ship to be a writer at Surat in 1627. In 1630 he was induced to stay in India for an additional three years at an increased salary, and was sent to Cambay, where he died at the end of 1631. See *English Factories*, 1624—1633; *Cal. State Papers*, *E. I.*, 1624—1629.

Mr John Bangham[1]
× Mr Joseph Readinge[2]
+ Mr Nicholas Wolley[3]
Mr Thomas Wilbraham[4]
+ Mr Thomas Smith, Secret[ary][5]
+ Mr John Glanvell[6]
+ Mr Clement Dunscomb[7]

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[1] John Bangham served the Company in Agra, Surat, &c. from 1618 till 1628 when he sailed for Bantam and thence to England. In 1630 he returned to India. He was employed on a mission to Bantam in 1631 and in 1633 was sent to Burhānpur, "where he lived like himself, an idle young fellow, and so lost himself both in body and estate." He was, in consequence, ordered home in 1634, but died before the departure of the ships. See *English Factories*, 1618—1641; *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1624—1634.

[2] See *ante*, note on p. 267.

[3] Nicholas Woolley, who had served the Company as purser's mate since 1620, was taken from his ship, the *Falcon*, in 1626, to supply the needs of Surat factory, and there he remained until his death at the end of 1632. See *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1622—1629; *English Factories*, 1618—1633.

[4] See *ante*, note on p. 267.

[5] Thomas Smith seems to have served the Company as assistant to their general shipmaster in 1626—1627 and then to have gone to India in their service. He was taken from his ship to supply the want of writers in Surat. In 1628 he was "Register." In 1630 "Thomas Smith, our Secretary, whose carefull dilligence in the orderly keeping your registries hath noe parallel," is thus recommended to the Court—"On him Your Worships may bee pleased to cast your favourable aspects, as the ablest and fittest for your imployment that ever came or shall come into India. His small meanes at present, together with his desire to make himselfe better knowne unto Your Worships, is the greatest cause moving him to crave lycense to repaire to his country, which wee have granted." Smith, however, died before he could avail himself of the above permission. See *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1624—1629; *English Factories*, 1624—1633.

[6] John Glanvill served the Company at Surat, Broach, Ahmadābād, &c. from 1619—1627. He returned to England in 1628. In 1630 he was re-entertained as factor, and on his arrival at Surat was sent to Broach where he seems to have died, in 1631. He is last mentioned in Nov. 1630. See *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1624—1629; *English Factories*, 1618—1633.

[7] Clement Dunscomb, "a towardly young man and writes a fair hand," was entertained as a writer for Surat in Dec. 1628. He wrote from that place in April 1630 that his "lodging and diet" were "very different from at home" and that his wages were "insufficient to keep him in apparel." In Dec. 1631 he was made "Register" and in Jan. 1633 received an increase of wages. He died in the following April. See *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1624—1629; *English Factories*, 1630—1633.

+ Robert Davison, Steward[1]
Thomas Ashwell[2]
× James Woode[3]
+ Thomas Whitelocke[4]
+ Mr Henry Quarles[5]

Of 21 persons last before named, there are only 4 remaineinge whoe are unmarked; 14 of those markd + dyed before my arrivall and 3 with this marke × since, besides the Inferiour sort according to this proportion. The like tyme was never seene in India, There being Scarce one Man in all Suratt-howse [the English factory] able to write or sett his hand to Paper (sometymes). Theis were only by Sicknesse, but the Famine it selfe swept away more then a Million of the Comon or poorer Sort[6]. After which, the mortallitie succeedinge did as

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[1] There is no record of Robert Davison's appointment. He is mentioned as steward at Surat in 1628, and in 1630 his name appears in a list of Company's servants not recalled to England by the Court. There is no other reference to him, except his death in 1631. See *English Factories*, 1624—1633.

[2] Thomas Ashwell seems to have gone to India with President Rastell, in 1631, and to have been made steward at Surat. In Aug. 1633 he was dismissed from that post on account of "his drunkenness and quarrelsome disposition." In 1634 he accused Nathaniel Kingsland, with whom he had voyaged as assistant to Sumatra, of defrauding the Company, and sailed to England the following year to make his charge good. The Council at Surat wrote of him as "a youth of person and ability that promise faire hopes, but since the death of his guardian [President Rastell] exceedingly debauched," so that there were fears lest he should "mislead" the newly arrived factors. After this, nothing is heard of him, and he probably did not live to reach England. See *English Factories*, 1630—1636.

[3] James Wood, entertained steward's mate of the *William* in Jan. 1626, appears to have been transferred to the *Samuel* in 1629. In Oct. of that year he was taken prisoner after a skirmish with the Portuguese. He was released at Damān and returned to Surat in 1630, after which there is no further mention of him. See *English Factories*, 1630—1633; *Cal. State Papers, E.I.*, 1624—1629.

[4] I have found no other mention of this individual.

[5] In Jan. 1629 Sir William Becher petitioned the Court of Committees for employment for his servant, Henry Quarles, who was sent to Surat as a writer. Quarles is last mentioned in March 1631.

[6] Here is a marginal note—"The famine and mortallity in Guzaratt."

much more amongst rich and poore. Weomen were seene to rost their Children; Men travelling in the way were laid hold of to bee eaten, and haveing Cut away much of his flesh, hee was glad if hee could gett away and save his life, others killed outright and devoured. A man or woman noe sooner dead but they were Cutt in peeces to be eaten. Thus much by Common report (because I was not present). But att my returne I found the Countrie in a manner made desolate, scarce 1 left of 10, as by instance of the weavers, for whereas formerly they had brought them [the factors] 30, 40 or 50 Corge [score (of pieces of cloth)] a day, they could now scarce gett 20 or 30 peeces; this in Baroach [Broach]. Att Suratt none att all, and in Brodra [Baroda] noe Factorie att present. In my opinion it will hardly recover it[s] former estate in 15, nay, in 20 yeares; I meane Guzaratt.

Here is an error in the computation of miles, for from Suratt to Agra, by way of Brampore [Burhānpur] I conceave is farther then from Agra to Suratt by way of Ahmudabad, the former beeing butt 551 miles and the latter 598½ miles, which is more by 47½ miles then the other, And should bee lesse, thatt beinge the farthest Way aboutt[1].

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[1] This last paragraph is in Mundy's own writing and was probably a later addition. The author is wrong. The Burhānpur route is the shorter. For the actual distances, see *Relation* VI., note on p. 66, and *ante*, p. 272, and footnote.

RELATION XVII.

SOME PASSAGES AND TROUBLES MORE PERTICULERLY CONCERNING THE CAPHILA MENTIONED IN THE FOREGOEINGE RELATION WHICH OCCURRED IN THE CONDUCT THEREOF, VIZT.[1]

The 25th February 1632/3. Wee departed[2] from Agra in the morninge and that night came[2] to Fettiepore [Fatehpur Sīkrī].

The 26th February 1632/3. Wee came to Connoway [Khānwā] where I found Mr Fremlen[3] who had already dispeeded the Carts to Neembra [Nībhērā], the Cammells being to follow that night. About Noone wee had much thunder with a Terrible gust of wynde and somuch dust that wee could hardly see one another; after which

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[1] This is *Relation* XV. in the *Harl.* copy where the headline is, "Some Passages of a Caphila from Agra to Surat" and the title, "Notes of certaine passages of a Caphila sent by Mr William Fremlen from Agra to Surat under Convoy of Peter Mundy consistinge of 109 Carts and 268 Camells with Fardles of Indico, Fardles Saltpeter and Barrells Muster [samples], *Vizt.*"

[2] The *Harl.* copy has, "I departed," "I came."

[3] See *ante*, *Relation* V., note on p. 24. William Fremlen remained at Agra until 1634 when, in obedience to orders from Surat, he dissolved that factory. In 1635 and 1637 he was sent on missions to Sind and to Persia. In Jan. 1639 he succeeded William Methwold as President of Surat, a post which he held till 1644, when he returned to England after eighteen years' service in India. He died shortly after, on the 13th March 1646. See *English Factories*, 1630—1645; *Court Minutes*, 1635—1649.

followed aboundance of rayne, which lasted all the afternoone. Wee departed thence about one a Clock afternoone (the rayne continueinge) and came to Neembera aforesaid, The Cammells not being able to lade by reason of the fowle weather, one third part of the Carts being without Covers and three quarters of the Cammells goods lyeinge open in the feilds; but wee hoped it tooke noe hurt. There wee found Backur Ckhaun [Bākir Khān] with a small Laskarr [*lashkar*, camp] bound for Ahmudavad [Ahmadābād] appoynted Sehebsooba [Sahib-sūbah, Sūbahdār] of Guzaratt [Gujarāt].

The 27th February 1632/3. Heere the Ckhaun made one dayes Moccame [*makām*, halt] by reason of the raigne, which about Noone powred downe in such manner that the like hath seldome ben seene for the tyme. It came with verie great haile and such a gust of winde that our Tent or feild Coveringe did litle availe to keepe our selves drye. This morninge the Cammells arrived, the goods enduring this terrible shower with the rest in the open feilds, the rayne still continueinge but not soe violent.

The 28th February 1632/3. Wee came to Byana [Bayānā] in Company of Backur Ckaun [Bākir Khān], whoe promised to protect and free us from paying Customes on the way. Mr Fremlen had formerly agreed with Adowyaes[1] (I would it had held) for rupees 45 per Carte and rupees 9½ per Cammell, to pay the Custome of the goods from Agra to Ahmudavad, but on Confidence of this occasion [relying on this opportunity] they were dismissed. About 1½ Course this side Byana one of our Carts brake in Two and another laye in the river (occasioned by rayne) hard by the Towne, where the goods lay

[1] *Adāvī*, *adāviyā*, a contractor for customary payments *en route* (*adā*), a transport contractor. See *English Factories*, 1618—1623, for further instances of the employment of this word.

under water neere 1½ hower without beinge able to remedy it; The Cart was soe sunck in a pitt of Sand. Soe wee were faine [obliged] to take the Fardles [bundles][1] of Indicoe a Shoare on mens shoulders, and much adoe wee had to gett somuch helpe amongst 170 hired servants, the night being darke and fowle weather, every man shifted himselfe out of the way. Divers other of the Carts came through very deepe water, but by reason of their litle staye, there cannot bee somuch dammage thought [through it] as on the former which was left att Byana, there opened and put to drie being verie much dampnified; and had it not ben the sooner prevented, the whole Carte Loadinge (being seven Fardles) had bene utterly spoyled. To the broaken Cart they sent two emptie ones to fetch away the goods. Thus puzling [embarrassed], it was neere Midnight before our Carts came together. By this begining Mr Fremlen might judge of the future and farther proceede of this Caphila [*kāfila*], for heere himselfe was present, the howse broker, the howse servants, Cart Brokers, Cammell Brokers, etts. to assist him, the Oxen unwrought [*i.e.*, fresh] and the Monsull [*manzil*, stage] but 5 or 6 Course, and yett all the former Trouble befell with the dammage and hindrance. How could hee then thincke I could strive all alone with weary oxen, broken Carts long Monzulls, a tedious journey, and to keepe Company with a Laskarre besides other inconveniencies?

The first March 1632/3. Wee all sett forward on our Journie.

The 2d March 1632/3. Wee came to Somf ca Sarae [Sōp][2], whether Mr Fremlen accompanied us, and haveing ended Accompts with the Cammellers, Carter balloaches

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[1] See *ante*, *Relation* VII., note on p. 76.

[2] In *Relation* XVI. (*ante*, p. 235), the 3rd March is given as the date of reaching Sōp.

[Balūchīs], etts. (a very troublesome peece of busines), hee returned to Agra leaveing mee to my Charge.

The 11th March 1632/3. Wee came altogether [to] Baldersunder [Bandar Sindrī][1].

The 12th March 1632/3. From hence Backur Ckhaun and his Laskarre past through to Adgemeere [Ajmer], beinge 13 course[2], but then neither our Cammells nor Carts Could keepe him Company. The former stayed halfe the way but the latter proceeded three Course farther. I stayed with the Cammells, as being hindermost and neerest daunger, where one of our Cammellers was carried to Kissinghurre [Kishngarh], a Castle hard by, demaundinge 100 rupees for hurt done by the Cammells in their Corne (being noe such matter).

The 13th March 1632/3. Wee also arrived att Adgemeere, where the Ckaun [Khān] made another Moccame [*makām*, halt] for his owne occasions, els had wee bene already left behinde. By his letter wee got our Cammeller free with the expence of about 20 rupees to the pla[i]ntiffs Horsemen etts. the Ckauns Officers. It was 3 a Clock afternoone next day before our Carts Came, Soe wee made noe Moccame att all. Heere my servant overtooke mee with whome I expected Abbdull Careeme ['Abdu'l-Karīm], an auntient and trustie Servitor of the Companies[3], whome,

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[1] Here again the date in *Relation* XVI. is one day later (*ante*, p. 241).

[2] The wording of the three preceding paragraphs and the beginning of that for the 12th March differs in the *Harl.* copy, where the passage runs as follows: "29 [February]. Wee stayed 1 day in Byana and the next day (1 March) sett forward, Mr Fremlen accompaninge (2 [March]), as farr as Somf ca Sarae 2 dayes Journey farther to end Accompts with Cammellers and Carters (that beinge alsoe very troublesome); soe hee returned and I proceeded—8 dayes we kept company with the Laskarre as farr as Bundersunder (12 [March]), from whence Backur Ckaun departed, and that day past through to Adgemee, being 13 Corse."

[3] This is probably the same man whom Mundy mentions in *Relation* XII. (see p. 184). 'Abdu'l-Karīm had been in the Company's service for many years. In 1620 he accompanied Robert Hughes to Patna, leaving his wife at Agra. See Hughes' letter of 6 October, 1620 (*Factory Records, Patna*, I. 9).

after much importunitie of my selfe, Dongee [Dhanjī] and others, Mr Fremlen promised to send after mee, but deteyned him. Never had Caphila more need of Assistance then this, consideringe the greatnes of the charge, length of the way, multitude and diversitie of the worst sort of people in India to deale withall, baddnesse of the tyme, but, last and worst, bound to keepe Company with a laskarre with such a number of base [inferior] Cattle and Carts that all that sawe them held it impossible they should long hold out. Yett with all theis hard Conditions am I thrust out alone, with litle [knowledge of the] language, haveing noe body that I can trust or cares to take any paines to ease mee to looke after the Companies goods, To helpe to compound the unreasonable demaunds of Carters, Cammellers, etts., To decide their quarrells, differences etts., to perswade them to reason, They being most comonlye obstinately bent to doe what they liste, although to the Companies losse, which I am afraid wilbe noe small matter through the want of such a one.

The 16th March 1632/3. Cominge from Budderwarra [Badhwārā] to Arreea [Rēā], about 50 of our Carts lost their way, I being then with our Cammells; and Comeinge att our Monsull [*manzil*], I found but 11 Carts in all, some out of the way as aforesaid and others hindred by Sands, Soe that they were faine to put eight, ten and twelve Oxen to one Carte to gett them over quarter of a mile of the said deepe sand, soe that wee wrought about them till 9 a Clock that night. Yett came they not to the rest for that night, neither the other Fiftie, after whome I sent 8 men severall wayes to bringe newes, which wee had about three a Clock in the morninge That they were gon towards Mirta [Mertā] another way. That night alsoe another Cart broke in the Midle.

The 17th March 1632/3. Wee came to Mirta [Mertā], *vizt.*, 50 by the high way, 48 I came along withall, and

the rest came after, for whose safer passage I desired a Horseman of Backur Ckauns [Bākir Khān] to goe along with them. The Carts were sore Tottered and shaken with the sand that they were scarse repaired and fitted in 3 dayes Moccames [*makām*] the Amrawe [*amīr*] made their (*sic*). And had hee not made the said Moccames, as well heere as att the places aforementioned (although for his owne ends), it had bine impossible for us to have kept Company with him hither. Heere the Carters required 50 rupees per Cart to supply themselves with Oxen etts. I never thought of this; but Mr Fremlen knew it, unto whom they had made the same demaund, whoe bidd them rest satisfied, for that I carried wherewith to Content them all, which was but rupees 2000, untill by Dongees [Dhanjī's] perswasion I had 1000 more, in all rupees 3000. Of this the Cammellers had 1000 to provide themselves with other Cammells in leiwe of those that should die or faile.

In former tymes, as I am informed, they used to carry spare Cammells for that purpose in the Caphila, but nowe there are none, or if there bee any, they are laden with graine for their provision to and in Guzaratt [Gujarāt]. Such is the feare they have of the famine, which now, by report, is much deminished (God be praised). To the Carters I paid all that was lefte, beinge rupees 1650, only reservinge 50 or 60 for expence of dyett. Cutwall Ckaun [Kotwāl Khān][1] of whom Mr Fremlen tooke upp rupees 21000 by exchange (remitting it on Ahmudavad [Ahmadābād]), promised before our Cominge out to lend us 4 or 5000 rupees if wee wanted on the way. Upon which proffer I addressed mee to him; but his answere was that Backur Ckaun, standing in great neede of money to pay his Souldiers, had taken of him all hee had, and

[1] See *ante Relation* XVI., note on p. 232, for this official.

faine besides to pawne his Jewells and plate to procure more in Mirta [Mertā] (all this I beleived). Howsoever, hee promised that within 3 or 4 dayes hee would furnish mee.

I doe thinck the Carters had not somuch neede of money as they Complained, only to make provision of meate etts., by which meanes their poore weake Carts were the more Laden and wee consequently the more hindred by their slowe proceede, besides breakeing of them and tireing their oxen etts. As for the most part of the Carts, they were the unfittest and weakest that ever were sent out of Agra in one Caphila, and the greatest part of their Oxen Suteable [to match], soe that every day wee were afraid wee should not hold out the next; nor never a day, night, nor scarse an hower but that one or other tells mee that there is such a Carte broken and would know what I would enorder about it. Another comes after him and sayes that such a Carts wheele is in peeces. Another after him that the Oxen of such a Cart are tired and can goe noe farther, and that one Cart is gon another way and that another Cart is 2 or 3 Course behinde the reste. And thus much of the Carts. With the Cammells there is not halfe soe much trouble, although they dye and tire, and many tymes their goods lye by the high way, but they [the camel drivers] fetch it againe; soe that they are somewhat Tollerable.

A Caphila of the best Cammells in the best tyme with good assistance is troublesome enough. A Caphila of Carts of the best, with the former conditions, is worse. Cammells and Carts together, although of the best sort, is worse then that. But a Caphila of the worst sort of Carts and Cammells in a badd tyme, without Assistants, and to keepe way with a laskarr is as badd as may bee for trouble and hazard. For with a laskarr those that can

keepe Company must proceede on and not stay for those that are behinde which are not fewe nor seldome. How many tymes have some of our Carts arrived 24 howres after the Laskarr, others 12, and others 7 or 8; but the places that wee have past hetherto have not bine verie daungerous, which if it should happen hereafter, the Cost and daunger is most apparent for theeves and Custome, makeing that one or more to pay for all the rest, soe that by noe meanes must wee leave any behinde (coste what it will) for wee have every day newes of Cammells and goods taken out of Caphilaes, *vizt.*, from under Abbooghurre [Abūgarh] out of the Dutch Caphila, and out of this Laskarr severall tymes and otherwaies. I say if wee went by ourselves wee might stay one for another, but with a laskar wee cannot, which will stay for none.

The 22th March 1632/3. Wee came to Peeparree [Pīpar], to which place some of our Carts were not arrived by 3 Course the next day, while the Laskarre, Peshconna [*pesh-khāna*, advance-camp] and all, were by Computation att Jooguee ca talao [Jogī kā Talāo], one Journey before us. Soe that I rode back and hired 3 Carts out of the neerest Towne to ease the rest, That if it were possible wee might attaine the Laskarr by night. On each of which Carts there was 3 Maunds graine att least, And how to remedie it I know not, they alleadging it is the sustent of their lives and the lives of their Cattell. Comeing within 2 Course of our Monsull I overtooke 18 Carts goeing on. It being somewhat late, I left them to come after, and past forward to looke for more. Theis latter Carts arrived but 2 howres before the Laskarr sett away for the next Monzull.

The 23th March 1632/3. There were fower Carts stayed behinde all the rest mending their wheeles, as also wanting Oxen. Theis wee supplyed from the Towne and sent them away. Passinge onwards wee should finde

15 Carts att a Stand; in another place 20, and their Oxen a grazeing as though they had nothinge els to doe, nor by their goodwills would they stirr, not careing what became of the goods soe they might refresh their Oxen. All theis wee hastned forward, whoe arrived about Sunsett. Then had wee newes of 2 Carts that were out of their way, whome wee sent presently to looke after.

The 26th March 1632/3. The Carters importuninge mee for money, and I not haveing the oppertunitie to sollicitte Cuttwall [Kotwāl Khān] for his promise (because most commonly I came up late in the night with the latter Carts) I desired one of the Chowdrees [*chaudharī*, headman, overseer] to take Care of the Carts that day, that I would [might] goe before and procure money for them, being all other tymes putt off that it was too late. Hee promised mee hee would. Cuttwall Ckaun, notwithstanding his faire promises and our urgent necessitie, put us off yet 2 or 3 dayes longer, soe was faine to borrowe 20 rupees in one place and 30 in another to supplie our want, only to hire Oxen and Carts to ease the rest untill then. The Chowdree aforementioned came away that day and left 11 Carts behinde, whereof some came 2 howers in the night and some att 12 a Clock. And by 2 a Clocke in the morninge, when wee were makeing ready to bee goeinge, there were 3 Carts wantinge, whom I was faine to goe seeke my selfe, our people being all wearie, unwillinge, and fearefull to goe back. With much adoe I gott fower oxen of the other Carters and carried them with mee to bring upp the said Carts, whoe were about 2 miles behinde, not able to proceede any farther. Wee came back with them just as the laskarr was setting out; soe that without giveinge meate or drinck to the poore Cattell (whoe tasted neither in 24 howres before), they were forced forward. About 1½ miles further wee hired 4 oxen

more. Those 12 that belonged to the 3 Carts became altogether unserviceable and appertained to Jessa [Jassā] the Companies Debtor.

This was our continuall life, by reason of the weaknes of our Cattell, badnesse of the Carts, weight of their Ladinge and length of the Monzulls [*manzil*, stage], comonly 8, 9, 10 Course a day, whereas good strong Carts with easie Charge [light loads] goe not above 5, 6 or 7 Course voluntarilye att most. Besides that being a tyme of scarcitie, they had put into each Cart 2 or 3 Maunds of graine etts. provision, when as they were scarse able to stirr with what they had before. Oxen died and failed dayly, the labour and vexation continuall and extraordinarie; but nothing troubled mee more then the feare to leave some Cart or other behinde, of which there was never hope it would ever overtake us more, but run hazard to bee robd, [and] great Costs for its bringing forward. Besides, there is noe question but the rebells would make those latter Carts to pay for all the rest that were escaped without Custome as before [is] sayd; my selfe all day rideinge forth and back in the Sunne, Scarce suffered to Eate or rest att any tyme through seekeinge after lingring Carts, whoe most comonly would arrive about midnighte and to bee dispeeded againe within 2 or 3 howres after. How many mornings have I found 2 or 3 Carts remaineinge, not able to Stirr (when all the rest were gon) through some default or other, whome I must supplye in all hast with Oxen, wheeles, etts., as I Could bee furnished from the next Towne, and then sett them forward after the rest. The unsufficiencie of theis Carts and Oxen was apparent enough in Byana [Bayānā] to all that Sawe them, whoe made it a difficult matter they should hold out longe (as is before said).

It were not amisse for the avoyding of such Inconveniences hereafter that in such a Case as this there were

a sufficient [efficient] man entertained for Majorall[1] over all the Carts in general, One of the same profession that knowes how to deale with them, to allow them what is fittinge, to appoynt their tymes of setting out and place of rest, to compound their differences, to see them fitted [out, supplied] and that they performe their Taske. In fine, to commaund over them. Whereas now they [the carters] doe and demaund what they list, goe, come, sett out and Remaine when and where they please. The like I say for the Cammellers, Also a trustie man or Two to assist him that hath the Charge of the Caphila, to ease him of his Care and labour, to stand by him on all occasions, to councell him in Compoundinge of differences and quarrells, which have not bene a fewe in this Caphila, consisteing of such diversitie of people and professions, as Cammellers, Carters, Balloaches [Balūchī], Jutts [Jatt], oftentymes fightinge among themselves to mortall wounds, pillageinge one another like deadly enemies. I myselfe alone not beinge able to reconcile them.

The 27th March 1633. Heere att Bowrane [Bhanwānī] the Carters supplyed themselves with above 250 Oxen, what bought and chaunged. Amonge the rest Jessa [Jassā] aforementioned, whoe, of 20 hee brought from Agra, had now but one lefte, the rest dead and chaunged. Soe by the tyme God shall send us to Suratt, hee wilbe twice more indebted to the Companie then hee was before his settinge forth of Agra, although hee sell Oxen and Carts and all.

The 28th March 1633. Whilest wee were att Bowrane the Laskar was att Jallore [Jālor], but by reason it made a Moccame, wee overtooke it once againe.

The 29th March 1633. The next appoynted Monzull or dayes Journey by report was 12 Course. The tyme of

[1] Mayoral, a conductor in charge of a train of beasts of burden.

Ladinge being come, noebodye would stirr, all strucken into a feare of impossibillitie of holding out, as alsoe of their meanes and lives by certaine reports that the Rebells would meete with us, whoe would not loose their due for the Laskarr nor for the King himselfe, and that if they could not have their right by faire meanes, they would spoyle us as wee past through the woods. And although wee might escape this tyme, the next shall pay for all. Neither would the Cammellers stirr for the reasons aforesaid, as also that they should have their Cammells stolne as they did put them to feede in the woods. Neverthelesse, with much adoe, wee perswaded them to put [set] out, but it was noone before any of our Carts were gotten ½ a Course further, soe that finally wee were lefte in a desperate case, many of our Carts stopped and some of them lyeing broken in the Sand, noe hope now lefte to hold out, haveinge hetherto kept Company with the Laskarre with extraordinarie labour, hazard and vexation, losse of Cattle, tiring of men etts. I, for my owne perticuler, will take my oath that, to my remembrance, I never tooke more care and paines, nor suffered more disquietnes and discontent in all my life (for the tyme) then I have done in this busines, scarse eatinge my meat in peace, some dayes without tastinge any thinge att all nor takeinge any rest, men now groweinge unwillinge to doe what I bidd them, wearied with extraordinary labour and watchinge, and many tymes in daunger of their lives attending on Carts att all tymes of the night in woods and perrilous places.

Seinge the busines overthrowne, and that the Carts Could not proceede with the Laskarr for all our uttermost endeavour and ernest desire and the Carters contract, I concluded to send the Cammells with the Laskarr and my selfe to come after with the Carts, and leaveing them in Jallore, I went with the Moccadames [*mukaddam*,

headman] of the Cammells to Modra [Modrā] by way of Dantewarree [Dāntwādā][1], with intent to recommend them to Cuttwall Ckaun untill they came to Ahmudavad [Ahmadābād]. Wee were noe sooner arrived but they fell a Consultinge, as is their manner, and after 3 howres resolved againe not to goe (haveing first given their consents thereto) alledginge that their Cammells would neither hold out, that they had tired 6 that day which left their Lading in the midway, which they sent for afterward.

The 30th March 1633. Backur Ckhaun (upon his owne occasion goeinge now in extraordinarie hast), of whome haveing taken my leave this morninge as they did sett out, as also of Cuttwall Ckaun (they being both upon Eliphants), I returned to the Carts with purpose to bringe them that way, and soe to goe altogether. By the way back I mett many of the Ckauns Carts whoe were not able to attaine to Modra till next day, not only leaveinge theis behinde him but all the rest of his Carts alsoe, himselfe proceedeing with all expedition with some of his best and biggest Cammells in manner halfe Laden. His hasty march hath bene the death, tireinge and spoyling of neere 350 Oxen, besides Cammells, and all to keepe Company with the Laskarr. Soe that there is none that heere of this Consortshipp but say it was not the best Course to joyne such an ill accommodated Caphila with a Laskarr that went with more then ordinarie hast (but it was on their then faire now false promises). When wee came to Jallore wee found more of our Carts, the rest not arrived, being hindred by much sand and want of water.

The 31th March 1633. Theis being also come, wee made a Moccame for them that they might repaire and

[1] In the direction of Dāntwādā.

mend their Tottered and broken Carts, The Cammells in the meane tyme stayeing att Modra expectinge our Comeinge (which they might long enough have done); for notwithstandinge all the reasons wee could alleadge to perswade them (which were many), they flattly denyed to goe that way, that they would rather loose their heads, as they said, for it would break all their Carts and kill all their Oxen. The occasion of this was one Gunna [Ganā], a Chowdre [*chaudharī*], a perverse fellowe, whoe had the verie worst Carts and Oxen and Conditions that were in all the Caphila besides. Soe once more concluded to goe by way of Sheroy [Sirohī] although the more tedeous and Costly by 5 dayes Journey and 1000 rupees by Computation Cost[1].

The first Aprill 1633. Wee stayed one day more to mend their Carts, or rather to marre them by puttinge graine into them, bought (as I conceive) with the money they tooke att Imprest [money advanced], for which purpose I was faine to take upp in Jallore 7000 rupees by exchange, remitting it to bee paid in Ahmudavad, whereof 2000, after many dayes importunitie to Cuttwall Ckaun [Kotwāl Khān], I receaved of Backur Ckhaun [Bākir Khān], whose Treasurer gave mee a Bill for 160 Mohores [*mohar*]. To him was allowed 2 per Centum. To a Sharaffe [*sarrāf*, money-changer] to pay the gold there, It being payable in Ahmudavad, I gave 5 per Centum. The Mohores were sold att 12½ rupees each [28*s.*], the money to be repayed in Mohores att Ahmudavad, on which I feare there will not bee lesse then 6 or 7 per Centum losse more, besides 1½ per Cent to severall officers, in all about 15 or 16 per Centum losse. This is the effect of Cuttwalls Ckauns proffer. Of Backur Ckauns you have already heard in leaveing us behinde. The rest of the

[1] This last word is added in Mundy's own writing.

money I tooke att 8 and 10 per Centum. Money I must have perforce and thus I must give [interest] or goe without it. I acquainted Mr Fremlen hereof by word of mouth and letters, desireing to have letters of Creditt on Mirta [Mertā], Jallore [Jālor] etts. on all occasions that might befaull, but it was not regarded by relyeinge on Cuttwall Ckauns faire promises. Beeing thus left to trie [our own resources] att the verie poynt of daunger and Cost, wee had recourse to the first thought and safest way of proceedinge, *vizt.*, [by] Adowyaes [*adāviyā*], whome also theie are two sorts of Contracts, one to give him soemuch for his paines to goe alonge with us to Compound the Jaggatt [*jagāt*] and wee to pay it on our owne heads, Another to give him soe much per Cart or Cammell, and hee to pay the said customes to his proffitt or losse. This latter I made choyce of, In regard that the gaine or losse concerning themselves, they wilbe the more warye. Sundrey Adowyaes proffered themselves, some demaundinge 29, others 28 and others 27 rupees per Cart betwene this and Ahmudavad; 26½ I offered, which was not accepted by any Straunger, only our owne Carters undertooke it att that rate for the Carts. The Cammellers demaunding 6 rupees per Cammell, I refused that proffer alsoe, and att last resolved to goe through as I had begun, *vizt.*, to defray the charge myselfe, being come soe farr forth alreadie.

The 2d Aprill 1633. The first day after our arrivall att Jallore wee departed thence, haveing first sent word to the Cammellers to meete us at Shehana [Siwāna], but in 2 dayes wee had noe answere. This day wee came to Bagra [Bāgrā], 3 Course short of Shehana. From thence I sent 2 severall men, one to Modra and 1 to Shehana. Within a while after came 3 Cammellers and George the Christian. Theis I dispeeded back againe with order to meete us at Shehana aforesaid, where wee would make one moccame to stay for them, haveing againe vehemently urged the poynt

to the Carters to goe by way of Dantewarry [Dāntwādā], but labour in vayne.

The 3d Aprill 1633. The Cammells not comeing to day according to expectation, wee sent againe to know the occasion of their stay. They sent us word one of their Cammells was lost.

The 4th Aprill 1633. Wee made this day a Moccame for them. Neither did they come that day but stayed 3 Course short of us.

The 5th Aprill 1633. Wee sent them word againe to meete us at Oonde [Ud], seven Course short of Sheroy [Sirohī], that they would therefore sett out betime.

The 6th Aprill 1633. Att last our Cammells came to us after nine dayes being asunder, and not in my power to bring them together, as you have heard. Att Shehana [Siwāna] there overtooke us 40 Carts, whereof 7 of the Dutch laden with Salt peter, whoe came with us as farr as Hendowne [Hindaun], Haveing gotten off them in the way 8 dayes beforehand, besides 5 Moccames [*makām*][1], which wee all lost againe through the Crossnesse [ill-humour, quarrels] of the Cammellers and Carters.

The 7th Aprill 1633. Att Sheroy [Sirohī] there were three Carts of Gunnaes [Ganā] not come with the rest, the place verie dangerous, for now were wee come amonge the Hills of Robbers and Rebells. Men exclaymed on him and the badnesse of his Carts, refuseing to come with them. Dayly hindrance doe wee suffer through his meanes. Hee hath the Charge of 36 of those rotten Carts, neither had hee a good Oxe when hee came forth from Byana [Bayānā], being now furnished with our meanes. This cannot bee remedied, being forced to give him money and faire words to goe on with all expedition. Otherwise wee might have

[1] Mundy means that after leaving Hindaun he had left the Dutch carts behind, and on the 29th March had outdistanced them by eight days' journey.

bene endaungered to be stopped by the raynes before our arrivall att Surratt. Betwene Oonde [Ud] and Sheroy [Sirohī] the Carts Came in among the Cammells and cawsed some hindrance in their way belike, soe that the Camellers and Carters were allmost by the Eares about it, but were pacified for that tyme. Heere wee found two Balloaches [Balūchīs] that were left by Signior Salomon to recover what was taken from them by Theeves under Abbooghurre (as in the relation aforegoeinge[1]). Wee made two Moccames heere, the Raja stayeing for us to receive his Jaggatt.

Heere I also payd the Carters, Cammellers, Peones, Servants, etts. their Chanderate [*chāndrāt*], a gratification which they expect every New Moone[2] as duely as their wadges. To the Cammellers I proferred 60 rupees (haveing order from Mr Fremlen to give but 20). Those men were soe farr from acceptinge it that they presently arrose, and without further advice fell to weighing the goods, noe body dareing to come neere to mediate. With such madnesse (or rather drunckennes) were they possessed that they had not bene long about it but they left off, fell a daunceing and Clapping their hands after their manner, which lasted an hower or two. Then they brought divers leane and sick Cammells and tyed them to my Tent doore, one sayeing, 'heere are 3 left of 14, doe you make use of the rest'; another that there was 1 left him of 7, and badd mee take him; soe others in like manner that their Cammells were killed by over weight and themselves undone; That they would have all the goods weighed presently [immediately] and satisfaction for the Overplus. The next morninge I was faine to quiet them with 120 rupees ename [*inām*, gratification], promiseing them also to have the goods weighed att Ahmudavad [Ahmadābād],

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[1] The *Harl.* copy has, "as in my Journall."

[2] *Chāndrāt*, lit., night of the new moon.

the overplus to be given them, and if it wanted, to allow so much to the Company. To which they condiscended [agreed]. I asked them why they did it not before they came from Agra. They said they would [have], but Mr Fremlen told them, in regard the ropes and the Skinnes were wett, they could not have the true weight, That therefore they might doe it on the way where and when they listed[1].

The Cammellers pacified and our Custome paid at Sheroy, as also provided a Cart to Carry 6 Cammells ladinge that dyed and failed, also bespoken about 100 men to conduct us through the straights [passes] of the Hills, wee intended to bee gone by 3 a Clock morninge. By 10 the same night the Carts were a goinge without order, nor would they stay, doe or say what wee could, but drove on in a Tumult. The Cammellers they would not stirr till morninge. Heere were wee devided againe when it concerned us most to keepe together. Neither did our Convoy come by the tyme appoynted.

The 10th Aprill 1633. Wee went away without our Convoy, leaveinge 3 men to bring them after us, whoe came next night to Mucrowree [Makrorā], there beinge noe daunger thitherto.

The 11th Aprill 1633. Cammells, Carts, Convoy and all departed together next morninge. Neere unto the verie place where the Dutch Caphila was robbed were two wayes. In one were the Cammells; in the other the Carts. A litle farther theis 2 waies mett into one, and the Carts drove in and brake the file of the Cammells that were tyed one to another, Soe that they fell by the eares to the endaungeringe the Companies meanes; one hurt in the

[1] The object in weighing would be either to annoy and blackmail, or to find out what they really carried in order to settle correct payment.

breast[1]; another shott in the Arme; another died next day of the blowes hee then received; divers of the one side robbed by the other, all sides complayninge. In conclusion, the quarrell was taken upp for the present to be afterwards tryed in Ahmudavad by their Kinges lawes, although they have made proffers to assaile each other since and live upon their guarde, pitching [their tents] severally and never a man to mediate the matter but my selfe with my litle language.

The 16th Aprill 1633. Comminge to Sheroutra [Sarotrā], the Cammellers demaunded more money to buy Cammells in liew of those that were dead and tired, for now their Cammells also began to faile dayly, haveing bene beholding to the Carters to carrie many of their Fardles. The Cammellers I say being soe farr indebted to the Company alreadie, I made a doubt to lend them any more money, and haveing advised with Boola [Bholā] and Ismaell Ckaun [Isma'īl Khān], Cammell Brokers, it was thought fittinge by them they should have noe more.

The 17th Aprill 1633. By three a Clocke morninge the Carts were stirringe and goeing out. My selfe found the Cammellers all a sleepe. Neither would they stirr untill they had money, Soe was faine to let them have somuch as to pay for certaine Cammells they had agreed for last eveninge. Haveing sett them goeinge, I by chance went to the place where the Carts had pitched (for most comonly they kept a sunder) and found they were all gone, but had throwne downe two fardles belonginge to the Cammellers, not leaveing any to looke to them; only poore people that were gatheringe strawe told us where they lay. There leaveing people to looke to them, I rodd two Corse after the Cammellers to gett them to bring the said Fardles away, for which they sent a Cammell they

[1] The *Harl.* copy adds, "(as in my Journall)." See *ante*, *Relation* XVI., p. 257, for Mundy's previous account of this fray.

had newly bought and loaded them on her. It was ten to one they had not bene lost, the people in generall being such Theeves.

The 19th Aprill 1633. Settinge out from Mogurwarra [Magarwādā] to Seedpore [Sidhpur], wee were informed the way was verie daungerous, soe tooke a Convoy of 3 horsemen and 22 Footemen. And as it happened under Abbooghurre [Abūgarh] betwene the Carters and Cammellers, Soe heere betwene the Jutts [Jatts] and Carters. In the place of most perrill they fell together by the eares, to draweing their swords and wounding each other. Some may aske why I did not cawse the offenders to bee punished by beating or otherwise. I answere, were the quarrell betwene two private parties it might bee soe, but it is betwene 2 Companies in which the Cheifes are included, each alleadgeing the like reasons. For, if one side say they are robbed, the other say soe too. If they produce a man that is hurt, the other doth the like, and you cannot favour the one but you must discontent the other. Also in matters of pilfering, thefts, etts. (all of them being litle better then Theeves), they never produce the parties nor witnesses, but say such a thing was stolne from them when hee was a Sleepe or from such a Cart, stealinge one from another as fast as they can, especially eateable Comodities.

From Ahmudavad, accordinge to my request, Mr Wych sent a Couple to assist me, but they were too honest, soft and quiet to deale with such a Company. Setting out from Seedpore there is verie deepe sand, soe that two of our Carts brake and many others stuck fast. After 2 or 3 howres labour wee gott them all away.

The 23th Aprill 1633. Betwene Nowa [Unāwā] and Messana [Mehsānā], there are two Townes named Daoo [Motī Dau] and Bandoo [Bhāndū] where they take extraordinarie Jaggatts. Our Cammells passinge betwene theis

two places a litle before day, some of Bandoo stood by the high way, whoe being demaunded what they were, replyed they were of the Towne and stayed there to tell [count] the Cammells. Our Folke said they were Theeves and layd hold of one of them, takeinge from him his Armes and apparrell, with misuseing etts. (as in the Journall aforegoeinge[1]). In fine, they killed one of our men and one of theires was hurt under the Eye by ours. In conclusion wee compounded our Custome and departed. It was certainely affirmed, had any of their people bine slaine, they would have revenged themselves on us and made what spoyle they listed of the goods.

A certaine Banian came with us from Nowa [Unāwā] whoe was acquainted all this way and had Creditt with theis people, Upon whose words wee lett our Carts goe on without reservinge by us somuch money as would satisfie them, soe were faine to leave 9 men in pleadge (as in the Journall[1]).

Also att Messana 15 Theeves fell on our Cammells, as they weere feedinge, and hurt one of our Balloaches [Balūchīs]. They also tooke one of the Theeves, brought him to Towne, and left him with the Deputie Governour, whoe seemeingly excused him, sayeinge hee was a poore fellowe that went to Cutt grasse.

The 25th Aprill 1633. Att Jurnucke [Jornang] there fell some rayne, soe cawsed the Palls [*pāl*, tent] to bee sett upp. The Cammellers, Balloaches, etts., immagininge they were provided for them, gott under, till I was faine to drive them out. Then could not I perswade them to gett the goods out of the wett, shifting out of the way from Pall to Pall, none to speake to them but myselfe, The Cammellers alleadgeing that they had sett their perticuler markes on the Fardles, and that next day noe man should knowe his

[1] See *Relation* XVI., pp. 263—264.

owne burden, and that there would bee great strife about it. With much adoe I gott them to bring under [cover] 150 Fardles or thereabouts. Had it nott pleased God to cease the rayne, the goods had layen att the mercie of the water. This is the manner of theis Countrie people in tyme of neede, As Mr Fremlen or any man els might well perceave att Byana [Bayānā], when the goods lay soe long in the Water. And if perchaunce they doe any service extraordinarie, they expect a perticuler reward, thincking themselves wronged if they have it not.

Settinge out from thence, very much sand, although somewhat settled by rayne. Heere the Carters left divers Oxen behinde them, some dead some tyred. It had bene a difficult Journey for the Carts, had not the raine hardned the Sand. All the fresh Oxen wee had att Bowrane [Bhanwānī], etts., now growne leane and fainte, soe that it wilbe as much as they can doe to reach to Ahmudavad without supply, haveing had already almost as much as I thinck their Oxen and Carts bee worth, and the Cammellers more then I can valew their Cammells att, haveing had rupees 2800 in debts before they came out of Agra.

The 28th Aprill 1633. Wee came to Chandangaome [Chāndkherā], the Cammellers haveing stayed behinde one day to drie their Packsadles, as in the Journall[1].

The 29th Aprill 1633. This day Carts and Cammells and all came well, and in good Condition, to the English howse in Ahmudavad.

The 30th Aprill 1633. Mr Wyche, Mr Knipe and myselfe went to Backur Ckaun (now Governour [of Gujarāt]) with a small present, in gratification of his good will; but it was rejected, and ourselves not admitted to speake to him, soe went to Cuttwall Ckaun, of whome wee understood that hee demaunded and expected noe less then

[1] See *ante*, *Relation* XVI., p. 265.

rupees 20,000, sayeing hee had saved us noe lesse in Customes, *vizt.*, at Byana rupees 6000, which Mirza Laskar [Mīrzā Lashkar] presented unto him, Att Mogul ca Sarae, Mozeabad, Mirta, etts. Then, moreover, that for our sakes he had made many moccames, stayeing his souldiers, Treasure, Eliphants, etts., att a great charge. To this wee answered—First, That he might examine any Adowya [*adāviyā*] of the Cittie what the Customes of such a Caphila might bee betwene Agra and Jallore, and it would not amount to rupees 2000 att most. And moreover, that in Byana, Mirza Laskarr expected some thinge from Mr Fremlen for letting our Caphila passe, which hee gave him to understand by word of mouth.

Secondly, For Moccames, I have sett them downe perticularly, where and wherefore they were made, *vizt.*, 3 att Chattsoo [Chāksū] for his Nourose [*nauroz*], 3 att Mirta [Mertā] to borrow money, 1 att Adgemeere [Ajmer] to performe his devotion to Qfuaz Mondeene [Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-dīn] and to stay for his Carts which were not arrived, *vizt.*, drummes, gunns, provision, etts., and 1 att Jalloare for the same occasion. Thirdly, That it was his Desire wee should come with him, haveing before agreed with Adowyaes to bringe us alonge, which att most would not amount to rupees 7000. And that now, as it hath fallen out, what with Customes paid since, losse by exchanges, money freely given to Carters and Cammellers to keepe way [up] with his Laskarr, Also daunger in recoveringe what imprested [advanced] them, it being double Augmented for supplyeing themselves with Cattle, their Cammells and Oxen most of them dead and tired, all to keepe way with him. All theis considered, it had much better bine wee had come with Adowyaes; and what hee tooke more was so much Cleane lost. Many other reasons wee alleadged on our sides, but all to noe purpose, soe returned to our howse.

The 2d May 1633. There wanted not some to mediate; and by their advice, it was thought that presenting him with 2000 rupees for a Mummannee [*mihmānī*, a banquet, feast] it would bee accepted.

The 3d May 1633. The money was carried to Cuttwall Ckhaun whoe stood our seeminge freinde in that businesse.

The 4th May 1633. The money was againe returned unto us. Yett this was more then wee had warrant for, but wee adventured for theis respects :

Firstlie. That hee had shewen us favour on the way (Although the event fell not out according to our desire), Soe wee could not doe lesse then gratefie him with Somethinge.

Secondly. Being new come to the Cittie [as Governor], there is alsoe then somewhat due to him by Custome of the Countrey.

Thirdly. Wee were loath for a small matter to incurr his ill will, being that it lyes in his power hereafter to befreind or hinder the Companies affaires, wee concluded of 2000 rupees, although to noe purpose, as aforesaid.

Att length word was sent to us that for 4000 rupees all would be remedied, which wee denyed [refused][1]. Soe one Eveninge the Governour sent for Mr Wyche and [the] Broker, with whome went Mr Knipe, whoe was detayned with Panya [Panjū][2] the Broker; Mr Wyche being sickly, was freed. Soe fearing of some hard usage (and in the meane tyme much wanting the assistance of the Confined), and [seeing] that there was noe other remedie, Wee sent him, though to our greifes, the said 4000 rupees, which hee soe dishonourablie and unjustlye extorted from us, to his reproach, the knowledge and detestation of the whole Cittie, whoe much feare his future tirannicall Government.

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[1] The *Harl.* copy has, "From 2000 they came at last to 4000 rupees, which were denied."

[2] See *ante*, *Relation* VIII., note on p. 79.

Soe that hereby may bee seene how the meanes which were tooke[1] to benefitt our honourable Imployers, by saveing the Customes of the Caphila by goeing with Backur Ckhaun, hath proved to their dammage. But I am afraid there wilbe much more by howseinge the goods in Ahmudavad, beinge that Cammells, Carts servants, etts. were hired for Suratt and 40 dayes tymes that wee might bee bold on [certain of them] before the raynes, whereas 20 dayes would serve our Turnes[2]. However wee had [the Governors of] Brodra [Baroda] and Barroache [Broach] to freind us upon all occasions. It was done by order from the President and Councell in Suratt in their letter the 15th Aprill 1633[3].

The 15th May 1633. By the Presidents and Councells order from Suratt, I sett out from Ahmudavad with 18 English that brought upp treasure. Wee carried with us 8 balles of Musters, more 52 Carts belonging to Gunna [Ganā] and Kesoo [Kesū][4], they alleadginge that they had better Creditt in Suratt then Ahmudavad, and doubted not of a Fraight from thence to Brampore [Burhānpur], thereby to pay what they owed unto the Honourable Companye.

The 25th May 1633. The said Gunna and Kesoo were delivered upp into the Presidents and Councells hands as Debtors to the Companye. There was some trouble in bringing them downe, but it concerned not mee altogether. Thus much I thought good to write of the passages of this Caphila, because I have had noe small trouble, labour and vexation about it, as you may well perceave by this Relation.

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[1] The *Harl.* copy has, "wee tooke."

[2] Mundy seems to mean that transport for Surat was hired before the arrival of his caravan and that too much time was allowed for a halt at Ahmadābād.

[3] This letter is not extant.

[4] Kesū died before December 1634, for in a letter of that date to the Company is mentioned "Nannaby [Nānābhāi], sonne to Kissoo [Kesū] deceased, which was in his tyme your servant also." *Factory Records*, 1634—1636, p. 85.

RELATION XVIII.

OF INDIA IN GENERALL AND OF THE MAREENE ATT SWALLY[1].

The 4th November 1633. Haveinge remained all the Raines in Suratt, on the day abovesaid arrived 6 English Shipps, *vizt.*, 3 immediately from England, the *Palsgrave*, Captaine Richard Alnutts[2], the *Discovery*, Mr William Morris[3] and the *Reformation*, Mr Nalbro [Norbury][4]. The

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[1] This is *Relation* XVI. in the *Harl.* copy, where the title is—"Since my arrivall in Surratt to the tyme I tooke my Passage for England." The *Rawl.* copy has no separate title beyond the headline, which is here given as a title.

[2] Richard Allnutt had previously commanded the Company's ships *Speedwell* (1626—1629) and *London* (1630—1632). In Jan. 1633 he was made commander of the fleet bound to Surat and sailed in the *Palsgrave*. He returned to England in Oct. 1636, and was subsequently charged with "the wilful casting away" of the *Palsgrave* by leaving Plymouth Harbour with "a great storm raging." See *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1626—1634; *Court Minutes*, 1635—1639.

[3] William Morris commanded the Company's ship *Reformation*, 1629—1631. In Jan. 1633 he was made Commander of the *Discovery* and Vice-Admiral, "and for his good service in the fight at Surat on shore against the Portugals [in Oct. 1631] was bestowed upon Captain Morris 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* in plate with the Company's arms engraven thereon, for which favour he humbly thanked the Court." In April 1634 William Morris died at sea on his return from Persia to Surat. *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1630—1634; *English Factories*, 1624—1633.

[4] Nicholas Norbury served the Company from 1623 till 1634. He had commanded the *Eagle* and *Falcon* before he was chosen master of the *Reformation* (in Dec. 1632) being "well acquainted with the several ports and harbours to the southward and coast of Coromandel." He died at Swally in Nov. 1634 on his return from a voyage to Sumatra with the pinnace *Intelligence*. See *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1622—1634; *English Factories*, 1634—1636.

other 3 went [had gone] from Suratt to Mesulopatan [Masulipatam] and from thence to the Islandes of Comoro, *vizt.*, the *Jonah*, Captaine John Weddell (late Commander of the *Charles* that was unfortunately burned in Port Swally, whoe aided the Persians att the takeinge of Ormuz[1], the *Mary*, Captain James Slade[2], and the *Hart*, Captaine Richard Swanley[3]. Theis 3 latter mett att Johanna with the 3 former. All these together from thence went to Persia and soe came to Suratt as aforesaid (the Pinnance *Intelligence* arriveinge long before), whoe was sent with advice to them to the Islandes [of Comoro] and brought newes from them[4].

Our Shipps, by reason of the extreame Current, wyndes and fowle weather (which happen in the raynes) not beinge able to abide or ride it out in the Port of Swally, doe about the midle of Aprill, leave the place and goe elswhere to winter, as to Bantam, Mesulipatam, Isles of Comoro, sometimes to Mocca [Mocha] in the Redd Sea, and sometymes

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[1] See *ante*, *Relation* VI., note on p. 42, for Capt. John Weddell. He transferred his flag to the *Jonas* in Jan. 1633, after the disaster to the *Charles*, and voyaged to Persia and Masulipatam.

The taking of Ormuz from the Portuguese, at which Weddell's fleet rendered material assistance to the Khān of Shirāz, occurred in Jan.—Feb. 1622. See *English Factories*, 1622—1623; 1630—1633.

[2] James Slade was master of the *Discovery*, 1621—1625, and Vice-Admiral of the Surat fleet and master of the *Blessing*, 1626—1629. In 1630 he was made commander of the fleet for Persia and India, and sailed in the *Mary* in Feb. 1631. In 1632 and 1633 he made voyages from Surat to Persia and Masulipatam, returning with the *Jonas* in time to sail for England in 1634, as appears in the next *Relation*. In Dec. 1635 Slade undertook another voyage in the *Mary*. He set out on the 25th March 1636 and died on the 2nd June of "a strong burning feavour," after ten days' illness. Mundy fell in with the *Mary* at Johanna two months later and heard the news (*Relation* XXI., fol. 115). See *Cal. State Papers*, *E.I.*, 1617—1634; *English Factories*, 1630—1636; *Court Minutes*, 1635—1639.

[3] See *ante*, *Relation* IV., note on p. 2, for Richard Swanley. The *Hart* sailed for Persia and Masulipatam in 1633 with the *Jonas*, *Mary* and *Dolphin*.

[4] The pinnace *Intelligence* and her master, John Burley, voyaged between Surat and the Comoros to meet outward bound ships from 1630 to 1633.

abroad to intercept Portugall vessells comeinge from Europe.

The 14th November 1633. By the Presidents order (the Worshipfull William Methwold now come in the *Palsgrave*)[1] and his Councell, I was appoynted Factor att the Marreene [? shipping clerk][2], and Mr Fraunces Day[3] my assistant, Soe departed Surat and came to Swally, and there received on Shoare all Europe goods now come in the new Fleete, Also shipped in the *Mary* such Indico etts. India goods as were heere ready provided for her ladeing, shee beinge enordered for England; moreover Persian goods and passengers in other 4 shipps bound for Gombroome[4]; And this Countrie Comoditie in the *Reformation* bound with the Pinnance *Intelligence* for the Coast of Sumatra to barter for pepper[5], which beinge done, I was permitted (by the President and Councell aforesaid) my tyme being expired[6], to take my passage in the *Mary*

[1] William Methwold had previously served the Company at Surat and Bantam from 1615 to 1623. His tenure of office as President of Surat lasted from 1633 till 1639. He died in 1653. For a full account of his career, see *Letters Received*, v., 124 *n.*

[2] At a Consultation held at Surat on the 12th Nov. 1633, "Peter Mundy, who is bound home in the *Mary*, his time being expired, is meanwhile appointed Factor for the Marine." *English Factories*, 1630—1633, p. 323.

[3] Francis Day was elected a factor in Dec. 1632 and appears to have come to India in the fleet that sailed in 1633. Mundy's reference supplies a gap in Francis Day's history. Hitherto the earliest mention found of him in India is as chief at Armagon in 1634. In 1639 he obtained a grant of land at Madras on which the Fort St George factory was erected. In 1640 Day returned to England, but went back to India in 1641 and was Agent on the Coast of Coromandel from 1643 till 1645 when he came home. He is last mentioned in Jan. 1652. See *Cal. State Papers*, 1630—1634; *Court Minutes*, 1640—1653; *English Factories*, 1634—1645.

[4] The *Jonas*, *Palsgrave*, *Hart* and *Discovery*.

[5] Nicholas Norbury, commanding the *Reformation*, was instructed not only to trade in Sumatra but "to make prize of Portuguese vessels and goods." The pinnace *Intelligence*, John Jones master, was to be employed in discovering fresh places for trade, and in carrying letters to Bantam. See *English Factories*, 1634—1637, p. 5.

[6] Mundy's time was over expired. His five years' agreement with the Company had ended in Feb. 1633.

aforesaid for my native Countrie. But before I part hence I will enlearge 2 or 3 wordes more of India. Although in my severall Journies I have touched att many perticulers of it, I will now speake a litle thereof in generall, and of this place, the Marreene in perticuler.

Of India: its Inhabitants.

India hath Decan [Dakhan] on the South, Persia and Tartaria to the Northwards, the gulfe of Bengala, Aracan, Pegu on the east, and the Ocean sea on the West, as by the Mapps [Baffin's] appeare[1].

The Inhabitants are Moores [Muhammadans], Hindooes, Parsees, Hallallcores [*halālkhor*, low-caste].

Moores are of severall kindes, as Mogolls [Mughal], Scieds [Sayyid], Patans [Pathān], Sheczaadas [Shekhzāda, Indian Muhammadan convert].

Hindooes of Innummerable Casts, as formerlie is touched[2]. Theis two are generally all over [the country].

Parsees are only found about Suratt, whoe neither burie nor burne their dead, but in certaine round, wide, lowe towers [Towers of Silence] they are laid on their backs with some Coveringe over them circularwise, begining att the Circumference untill it come round, and within them another ranck, they lye to putrifie, or to bee eaten by fowle. There bones are throwne into a deepe Concavitie like a well, made in the Centure of it[3], As per this figure[4], I haveing bine in one of them myselfe. If anye

[1] By India, Mundy evidently means Hindustan proper, *i.e.*, the country controlled from Agra and Delhi, including modern Central India, Rājputāna, Kāthiāwār, Oudh, Panjāb, Kashmīr, North-west Frontier Provinces, Sind, Afghānistān and Balūchistān.

[2] See *Relation* VIII. p. 94.

[3] See Lord, *Religion of the Persees*, p. 50, for "the place of their Buriall." See also Herbert, pp. 53—54; Mandelslo, p. 76; Ovington, pp. 370—381.

[4] See Illustration No. 22.

by chaunce touch any part of a dead man, as a bone etts., hee presentlye rends all his Clothes in peeces and burnes them, remaineinge as uncleane for 3 dayes, none comeinge neere him. It is alsoe held a great misfortune if their Fire should goe out in their howse, and procured againe with a great deale of Ceremonie. Theis people came first out of Persia [A.D. 717], leaveinge their Countrie because they would not leave their religion att the Commeing upp of Mahometisme[1], And theis are also those that manure [cultivate] the Toddy Trees att Saratt, etts.[2]

Hallalcores [*halālkhor*, scavenger, sweeper] are a kinde of base, abject and contemned people or Cast[3], most comonlie put to emptie howses of Office, which goe not with vault as ours, only in som place are certen high stepps one by another, on which they sett their feete and ease themselves, which is by and by carried away by the Hallalcores, Soe that there is seldome any ill savor in their howses of office. They are also put to bring upp, carry aboute and keepe great mens doggs (as uncleane beasts). They alsoe keepe Swyne and eate of their flesh. They are putt to Cutt of Condemned Mens heads. They eat all manner of Carrion, as horses, Cattell, doggs, Catts that die of themselves, sayeinge other men are cruell in takeinge away the lives of the Creatures, when as [whereas] they eat none but those whome God kills. Any man that touches any of them thincks himselfe polluted, soe vilely are they accounted. Yett are they in all great mens howses for the uses aforesaid.

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[1] For the "coming of the Persees" and "their worshippe of fier," see Lord, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 42—45; Herbert, p. 52; Mandelslo, pp. 74—76; Manucci, ed. Irvine, I. pp. 63—64.

[2] See *Relation* V. p. 32; see also Mandelslo, p. 74.

[3] For contemporary accounts of this scavenger caste, see Thévenot, Pt. III. p. 68; Tavernier, ed. Ball, II. 186; Fryer, ed. Crooke, I. 82; Ovington, p. 382.

Beasts.

Such beasts as are heere, and that wee have alsoe in England, bee horses, oxen, deere, Sheepe, Goates, hares, doggs[1], ratts, etts. Of the latter there are a sort called Goose[2], that are as bigg as a prettie pigg of 10 or 12 dayes old. Of other sorts there are Eliphants, Rinoseroses, Cammells of diver sorts, Buffaloes wilde and Tame, Lyons, Tigers, Leopards, Munckies, Musk catts [musk deer], Shawgoses[3], Nilgaues [*nīlgāī*], Roses [*rojh*][4], Antelopps, Wolves, Jacalls, Foxes, etts.

Fowle.

Of Fowle there bee Geese, Ducks, henns, Pidgeons, Hawkes, Kites, Crowes, Swallowes, sparrowes; only att Agra amonge the Kings Fowle I sawe one of our kinde of Turkies or Ginny Henns[5], and a Parratt with a horne on his head[6]. Of other kindes in India, the Saroes[7], Pellicans, Paioro [*mayūr*, peacock], Flumengo, wilde Peacocks, Cranes, Turtle Doves of severall sorts, Parratts, and many other both great and small land and water fowle; Also great Batts [flying-fox], such as are att Mohillia[8], of three quarters of a yard betwene the poynts of the winges. A Saros is the biggest flyeing Fowle that I have yett seene,

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[1] The *Harl.* copy adds "Catts."

[2] *Ghūs*, the bandicoot rat (*mus bandicota*).

[3] *Shāhgaus*, properly *shāhgawaz*, a common name in Bengal for the *sāmbar*.

[4] See *Relations* XII. and XVI. pp. 182, 230, for notes on these animals.

[5] See *Relation* VI. p. 60.

[6] Mundy probably means a cockatoo brought from the Indian Archipelago.

[7] *Sāras*, the red-headed or great grey crane (*grus antigone*).

[8] See *Relation* IV. p. 14. Compare Finch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, IV. 29: "On the trees [at Surat] are infinite number of those great bats, which wee saw at Saint Augustines, hanging by the clawes on the boughes making a shrill noise. This fowle the people say, ingendreth in the eare; on each wing it hath a hooke, and giveth the yong sucke."

of a Blewish Ashey Colour, many tymes kept Tame in great mens Gardens.

The Pellican resembles a Goose in shape of body and Feete, but twice as bigg, the bill about a Foote longe. Att the under part hangs a bagg or skinne that holds a potle of liquor att least. They are good meate, and of forme as per this Figure[1].

Fishes.

Fishes, there are Mulletts, Prawnes exceeding greate, and many other sorts. In great Rivers are Aligators or Crocodills. On the land are sundrey sorts of Snakes, whereof some with broad Finns on both sides their head [cobra][2], carried about to bee seene by those that shewe feats, standinge halfe upright as per this Figure[3].

Amphisbenae.

There are alsoe carried about for the said purpose others, as bigg as a mans Arme of 7 or 8 foote longe [either pythons or hamadryads]. Another sort there is, called Domoh [*domūnhā*, water snake], to say 2 mouthes, vulgarly held to have 2 heads[4], att each end one, and that

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[1] See Illustration No. 23.

[2] The *Harl.* copy adds—"others as bigg as the Calfe of a mans legg and 7 or 8 foote long."

[3] See Illustration No. 24. Mundy adds a footnote: "This snake was about 2 foote in length."

[4] Here is a marginal note in Mundy's own writing, probably added when he revised his MS.—"In the Commentaries on Dubartas in french in page 267 are these words, 'Amphisbenae is as much as to say as double marcheur or going both waies, a serpent supposed to have 2 heads but not soe'; Lucian in his Pharsalia, lib: 9." The work to which Mundy alludes seems to be *Les Oeuvres de G. de Saluste Sr. Du Bartas*, published in Paris in 1611, and his extract is a free translation of a passage on p. 269 (not 267) of that edition. The original runs as follows—"Amphisbene, Ce mot Grec est traduit en François, Double-marcheur...pource qu'il se roule autant en arriere qu'en avant...ce qui a fait penser qu'il eust deux testes, ce qui n'est pas. Lucain en a laissé ce trait en sa Pharsalie au neufième livre." In the *Commentaires et annotations sur la Sepmaine de la Création du Monde* by the same author, published in 1583, there are general remarks on "Amphisbene" but no passage identical with that quoted above.

one halfe of the yeare hee useth one head, and th' other halfe yere the other. I once found one of them dead in my way, which seemed to have 2 heads indeede, both ends being alike; but for all I could deserne, it had but one reall[1]. Here are also Efts and Lizards of severall kindes[2].

Trees.

Trees here are the Lyme, Pomgranat and Figg tree, as also the vine. About Agra are Cipresse, orenge and Apple trees. The rest doe all differ, and amongst them the strangest are the Cocotree and Arbor de Raiz [banyan tree][3], which are els where described, as in Linschott [Linschoten], etts.

Fruites.

Fruites heere of the Trees aforementioned, Alsoe Ananasses [pineapples], (the daintiest), Mangoes, Plantaines, beares [*bēr*][4], Jamboes [*jambū*, rose-apple plum], Jacks[5], and sundrie others, Also Cowcumbers.

Graine.

Graine heere is wheate, barley and a number of other sorts; with which the Comon sort of people live, especially Rice[6].

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[1] The *Harl.* copy has—"but for all the triall I could finde but one realy."

Compare Mandelslo, p. 35: "Snakes and Serpents...among the rest those which from a Greek word are called Amphisbenes and have two heads, I must confess I never saw any of them." See also Fryer, ed. Crooke, 1. 98 *n.*

The *domūnhā* is greatly feared and respected and it is said that anyone bitten by it is not susceptible to snake bite thereafter. See *Panjāb Notes and Queries*, I. No. 458; III. No. 452.

[2] The *Harl.* copy has—"Here is alsoe an Eft or Lizard called Goo [*goh*, iguana, large lizard] of 2 foote longe."

[3] See *Relation* XVI., note on p. 258.

[4] See *Relation* VI., note on p. 48.

[5] For this tree and for the history of the word "jack," derived through Port. *jaca* from Mal. *chakka*, see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Jack.

[6] The last two words are added in Mundy's own writing.

Hearbes.

Hearbes are Coleworts, Lettice, Mints, Beets, and sundrie other differinge from ours.

Roots.

Turnipps, Carrotts, Potatoes and other unknowne with us.

Flowers.

Roses, Jasmines, French Marygolds, Poppees, and of other sorts many, especially 2, the one called Kheera[1] and the other Chambelee [*chambēlī*][2] (I take it) as bigg as a prettie Tewlipp, have coullor and smell like a wall Jelly [gilly] flower. Theis growe on Trees as doe many other.

Gummes and druggs an Infinite number, as Spikenard, Gumlack [*lākh*, lac], etts.

Merchandize.

The Cheife is Indico, First that of Agra, then that of Ahmudavad; then Callicoe from Baroche [and], Brodra, cheifely, and some from other parts; Saltpeter from Agra and Ahmudavad; Spiknard, Gumlack from ditto places; Agatte ware from Cambayett [Cambay] by Suratt, where there is an Hospitall for sicke folke made and kepte by Bannianes. I say for sicke Fowle by reportte[3].

Coyne.

Coyne is of good gold, silver, Copper, etts., *vizt.*—Of gold there is only Mohores [*mohar*] or Gunnees [guineas] and half ones ditto, the whole one worth about 5 nobles [of 6*s.* 8*d.* each] English, sometymes more or lesse. Of Silver

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[1] *Keorā*, the sweet-scented *pandanus*.

[2] See *Relation* VI., note on p. 63.

[3] All the 17th century travellers remark on the *pinjrapol* or animal hospitals in Gujarāt, supported mainly by the Jains. See Fitch (in Purchas), ed. Maclehose, X. 170; Lord, *Discoverie of the Banian Religion*, p. 75; Herbert, p. 46; Tavernier, ed. Ball, I. 77—78; Thévenot, Pt. III. pp. 11, 13; Fryer, ed. Crooke, I. 138 *n.*; Ovington, p. 300; Manucci, ed. Irvine, I. 156.

there are rupees and half rupees, worth 2*s.* 3*d.* a whole one, there being of severall stampes and some difference in their valewe, knowne to the Money Chaungers or Sharaffees [*sarrāf*]. The Mohore and rupee aforementioned are Currant all India over. Then there are Mahmoodees [*mahmūdī*, about 1*s.*] which goe only att Suratt and thereabouts, hardly att Ahmudavad. Then of Copper there are pice, being of one weight and Currant [currency] in all places, and are valewed not att much more then they are sold or bought to make potts or Kettles. Sometimes they are 20 to a Mahmoodee[1], sometymes more, sometymes lesse. Theis pice are againe valewed into Almonds about Suratt, where 40 or 50 goe Currant for 1 pice. And att Agra they have little shells called Cowrees, whereof 50 or 60 to a pice accordinge to the Bazare [rate][2].

The Soyle.

The Soyle [country], forasmuch as I have seene, is for the most part plaine; only heere and there some Hills. It hath many great rivers, as Ganges, Indus, etts. In tyme of drought or out of the raynes watringe their graine by labour of Oxen, draweing it out of Wells. And soe in hast I have over runne all this Countrie hitherto. Now 2 or 3 words of the Mareene where I am now att present, and then bidd it and all India farewell for awhile.

The Mareene.

The Mareene of Swally is a place on the strand or Sand, close to the waterside where the Shipps ride in the

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[1] Herbert, p. 38, gives 30 pice to a "Mammoody or shilling."

[2] Compare Tavernier's table of currency, ed. Ball, I. 413—

"50—80 cowrie shells = 1 paisa
35—40 bitter almonds = 1 paisa
46—56 paisa = 1 rupee
14—14¼ rupees = 1 gold rupee or gold mohur."

porte (or hole)[1], where for the tyme there is great doeings, as landing and ladeing of goods, There being a Factor Appoynted with an assistant to discharge the place; Also a purser of the Mareene for matter of provision, shippes stores, etts., whoe have their severall Tents, besides the presidents great tent sett upp to receive him when he commeth downe about the Companies affaires[2], which this yere was left solely to us (though not so much for our ease). Before it is erected the English Coullours or Redd Crosse on a Waste [field], etts.[3] Heere are alsoe 50 or 60 Souldiers with a Captaine of the Guarde, livetennant, Corporalls, etts. to secure the place from Portugalls etts. enemies. Theis have also Tents, *vizt.*, The Captaine of the Guard by himselfe and the Court of guarde [*corps de garde*] for all the rest. Heere are also the Coopers, Saile-makers, etts., with severall Tents belonging to each shipp, where they trimme [put in order] their Caske[4], mend sailes, drye powder etts. shipps busines. Heere is a great Bazare, made by Banianes, of Bambooes, Reed, etts., where all manner of Necessaries and Comodities are to bee had[5], Alsoe provision, especially Toddy, which findes

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[1] Compare Mandelslo, p. 23: "The Haven of Suratta is two Leagues from the City, at the Village of Suhally...There, ships are unladen of their commodities, which are brought thence to Suratta by land."

[2] Richard Boothby gives an account (in 1629) of President Wylde's arrival at Swally to superintend the lading of ships for England and Persia "sittinge in his Tente in a Chaire and many Moores and Persians bussie about him." *Factory Records, Misc.* XI. 9. See also Fryer, ed. Crooke, I. 211.

[3] St George's cross, red on a white field. Compare Fryer, ed. Crooke, I. 218: "The present Deputy [at Surat] has only Forty Moormen, and a Flag-man carrying St George his Colours Swallow-tailed in Silk, fastned to a Silver Partisan."

[4] An obsolete collective form of cask.

[5] See Herbert, pp. 37—38 for a description of the "booths" of the "Bannians" at Swally and the commodities sold in them. When Mundy revisited Swally in Jan. 1656, he found several alterations, the President's tent moved to a "rising ground," the "Bazar rebuilt" and "many other new buildings." *Rawl. MS.* A. 315, fol. 226.

Currant and quick dispatch. The said Bazare (as soone as the shipps make way to be gon) is sett on fire.

When they [the ships] are enordered for Persia, Then come downe the Moores [Muhammadans] goods and their owners, whoe have each their severall Tent according to his quallitie, where they remaine untill their goods are shipped off, soe that it resembles a good Campe for Souldiers, munition [provisions], tents, people, etts., And great Mart for the aboundance of Rich goods all over the Mareene. It is a place of great Trouble, care and vexation for the while, as I my selfe proved by experience, and could demonstrate, haveinge soe many shipps to unlade, relade, to receive from one and consigne to another, all in hast, one upon the neck of an other. And soe I end my peregrination in this Countrie.

From the tyme of my landinge here in this place from England, on the 29th of September 1628, untill the tyme of my leaveinge this place and goeinge aboard, on the 29th January 1633 [1634], is 5 yeres, 4 monethes just [exactly] that I have lived in India. Giveing God most humble thancks for my preservation soe longe in a strange Countrie and in soe daungerous a tyme, I end.

The 29th January 1633 [1634]. I went aboard the *Mary*[1], bound by Gods grace for England.

The 30th January 1634. This day the Shipps assayed to putt forth, but came to Anchor againe[2]. Theis

[1] The *Mary*, a "new great ship" in 1626, was employed by the Company for 22 years. She was named by Queen Henrietta Maria who "had lately been at Blackwall." From Oct. 1626, when she was launched, until June 1648, when the Court ordered her to be sold, she made seven voyages from England, four times to Surat (and thence to Persia, Bantam and Masulipatam) and three times direct to Bantam. In her third voyage she was absent from England for nearly four years. She had four commanders, John Hall, James Slade, William Bayley and William Minors. She was twice repaired and was probably sold because unfit for further voyages. See *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1624—1634; *Court Minutes*, 1635—1649; *English Factories*, 1624—1645.

[2] President Methwold came from Surat to Swally to dispatch the

2 dayes I cleired with all men, *vizt.*, with Factors of Suratt and the Pursers of all the Shipps, etts.

The 31*th January* 1634. The Fleete[1] went forth and Anchored without the Barre of Swally.

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ships and held consultations aboard the *Palsgrave* on the 30th and 31st Jan. 1634. On the latter day commissions and instructions for the voyages to Persia, England and Sumatra were issued to Captains Weddell, Slade and Norbury. See *English Factories*, 1634—1637, pp. 3—5.

[1] For the constitution of the fleet, see *infra*, *Relation* XIX.

RELATION XIX[1].

A JOURNALL OF A VOYAGE FROM SURATT TO ENGLAND IN THE SHIPP *ROYALL MARY*[2], COMMANDER CAPTAIN JAMES SLADE[3], WHEREIN WENT HOME MR JOHN NORRIS CAPE MERCHANT[4], MR HENRY GLASCOCK[5], MR THOMAS WILBRAHAM[6] AND MY SELFE, PETER MUNDY. GOD PROSPER ITT.

The 1st February 1633/4[7]. Wee [wayed][8] from the outer road of Swally (haveing first sett the Presidents [Methwold] etts. on shoare), in company of the *Jonah*, *Palsgrave*, *Hart*, *Discovery*, bound for Gombroone in the Persian Gulfe, and the *Reformation* with the Pinnace *Intelligence* bound for the west Coast of Sumatra[9].

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[1] This is *Relation* XVII. in the *Harl.* copy.

[2] There is no log extant of the *Mary's* homeward voyage in 1634.

[3] See *Relation* XVIII., note on p. 303.

[4] See *Relation* V., note on p. 23.

[5] See *Relation* VI., note on p. 69.

[6] See *Relation* XVI., note on p. 267.

[7] Mundy's abstract of the ship's log, similar to that given by him for the outward voyage in the *Expedition*, has not been copied. His remarks for February 1634 follow February's log and are headed, "More observations on the foregoinge moneth."

[8] This word has been taken from the *Harl.* copy. The *Rawl. MS.* has "stayed."

[9] Philip Lucas, writing to the Dutch East India Company on 20 June 1634 (*Hague Transcripts*, No. CCCXVIII.), remarks of this fleet—"At our departure from Surat [28 Jan. 1634] the English vessels

The 2nd February 1633/4. There came to us 3 Mallabarre Frigotts of 6 that had layen many dayes about the hole to have spoken with us. The Captaine of that Fleete came with his vessell aboard the *Mary*, where were all the English Commaunders, betwene whome there was a kinde of Contract made, That our shipps might goe for Batacala [Bhatkal] to lade Pepper, writeing to their Kinge or Naigue [*nāyak*] to that purpose. In the meane tyme they putt aboard of us 31 baggs of pepper weighinge about 1 cwt. each and wee gave him 1 small brasse peece found by our people in a Frigott that was fired and driven ashoare by old Swally by the Dutch, belonging to the Portugalls[1].

This Mallabarre Frigott had 2 teire of Oares, one above an other of each side[2], and might have neere 180 men in all.

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in the roads of Suhali were the *Palsgrave*, the *Jonas*, the *Mary*, the *Hart*, the *Reformation*, the *Discovery* and a small yacht. The *Mary* was bound for England and the remaining vessels would soon leave for Persia. They had no cargo worth speaking of and would principally make the voyage for the conveyance of Moorish merchants and their goods."

[1] Here is a marginal note—"A Mallabar Frigott came aborde of us" and an addition in Mundy's own writing, "Babaraut, an arche pyratt." The six Malabar frigates appear to be the same that had attacked a Surat junk returning from Persia on the 19th Jan. as recorded by Richard Forder of the *Discovery*. He also notes, on the 2nd Feb., that "pepper was obtained from some Malabar frigates in exchange for a brass gun." *English Factories*, 1634—1636, p. 9. There is no other account of the agreement made with the English on behalf of the Nāyak of Bhatkal on the coast of Canara. The skirmish between the Dutch and Portuguese took place on the 21st Dec. 1633, when the "Dutch took two ships and burnt a third, while the English captured a country boat." *English Factories*, 1630—1633, p. 322.

As regards Babaraut (Bābā Rāwat), the term "arche pyratt" seems a little too strong, for he was evidently quite as ready to trade as to make reprisals. If he is the same individual as "Bardaratt" who was living near Calicut in 1638 (*English Factories*, 1637—1641, p. 85), then the friendly relations begun in 1634 had been maintained, for an application was made to him to negotiate the ransom of the crew of the *Comfort* who had been seized by Malabar pirates. Mundy again alludes to the contract with the Nāyak of Bhatkal when he visited that place in Feb. 1637 (*Relation* XXII.).

[2] See Illustration No. 25.

Att their goeing away wee gave them 3 peeces of ordinance and they answered us with 8 or 9 small peeces from their Frigotts.

This night wee parted with the 4 shipps bound for Persia.

The 3rd February 1633/4. Wee parted from the *Reformation* and Pinnace [*Intelligence*]. Longitude from St Johns[1].

Tryeing of the Currant.

From the 16th to the 26th a Currantt that did sitt W. N. W. 125 leagues, and hindred us in our way about 60 leagues, haveing tryed the Currant sundrie tymes with our Jolly boate in this manner. They veere out about 150 or 200 fathom of lyne, whereto is a good heavie lead or two, fastned soe that the boate rydes by it, although the lead bee not nighe the ground, and the water runns by the boate side, which they computate by a litle logg. It may bee demaunded how the boate can ride when the Tackling comes not to ground. It is answered that the Currant runns much swifter alofte then it doth belowe, and the Deeper the lesse, soe they finde the difference by the Lead. Although there is alwaies supposed to bee more Currant then they see, by reason of that litle that may bee beneath[2]. The Longitude accompted from St Johns and from the 25th South Latitude.

The 21st February 1633/4. Wee sawe 2 saile, which by all likelyhood were Portugalls Carracks[3] bound home. They att length steered a more westerly Course and soe wee parted, haveinge noe great minde to speake with one another.

In this moneth the shipp hath runne Miles 1676.

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[1] A sailor's name for Sanjān in Thāna District, about 66 miles south of Surat. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Saint John's.

[2] Compare Thévenot's account of "An Invention for Reckoning the Ships way." Part II., Book IV. p. 190.

[3] A Portuguese vessel, generally of very large tonnage. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Carrack.

March 1633/4[1]. The 22 Currant wee passed neere the Island called Mauritius; And then it was deliberated whether it were best to put in there or not. But findeinge most part of the men unwillinge, wee steered away our course for the Cape of Good Hope, there to water, which they might have done heere with greater ease and shorter tyme, with assurance of plentie and varietie of refreshinge for the takeing, of which att the Cape there is a doubte.

The Island Mauritius.

The Island of Mauritius was soe called by the Hollanders when they first found it [1698], in memoriall of their Prince [Maurice of Nassau, 1567—1625], but it was longe before discovered by the Portugalls [1505], who sett Cattle thereon to encrease for their supply and refreshinge, as they should come from the East Indies. Some part of it is high land, the rest Champion [champaign, plain]. Great store of goates, hoggs and some Bullocks. Dodoes, a strange kinde of a fowle, twice as bigg as a Goose, that can neither flye nor swymm, beinge Cloven footed; a wonder how it should come thither, there being none such in any part of the world yett to be found[2]. I saw two of them in Suratt howse that were brought from thence. Also a Fowle called Mauritius henns, of whome haveing once taken one, all the rest att the Cry of it will soe come about you that you may take them alive with your hands[3]; Great store of verie great Tortoises, which are excellent meate, as are there Eggs. There are wild

[1] These remarks follow the log for March and are headed—"Other Observations, *vizt.*"

[2] Mauritius, in common with the other Mascarene Islands, was the home of the dodo (*didus ineptus*). Mundy has a further description of this extinct bird in *Relation* XXVIII.

[3] Mundy has a detailed description and an illustration of this now extinct bird in *Relation* XXVIII.

Ducks, Geese, etts. Fowle; Fish, aboundance; good water; alsoe Wyne of the [date] Palme tree, by Cutting a hole in the body of the Tree soe that it may hold something, which is presently [immediately] filled by the liquor that issues out of the tree. There are also Lemmon Trees, and (some say) also Cokotrees [coconut-trees].

In conclusion, it is a daintie Island of good refreshing for homeward bound shipps, and (in my opinion of an Island not Inhabited) it is the best provided for mans use of any other under the Sunne hitherto found out. Thus much by relation of others, it being now yerely frequented by us and the Dutch homeward bound. There is also great store of Ebony that grows there[1].

The 28th March 1633/4. Lay a try [with bows to the sea] turning to windward.

In all this moneth the shipp hath runne Miles 1900.

The 5th Aprill 1634. Wee buried one of our quarter Masters in the Sea.

The 16th Aprill 1634. Wee sawe 2 shipps in the morninge, whoe made after us untill they made our Coulours, and then Tackt away to the Northward. Wee conceived them to be Hollanders.

The 18th—30th Aprill 1634. From the 18th to the last much fowle weather, Calmes and contrary Windes, haveing sundrie tymes layen a trye, which is only with our Maine Course [mainsail] and Mizzen abroad, the helme made fast a Lee. This is in case of much Wynde contrarie, for the ease of the shipp in a great deepe head Sea.

In all this moneth the shipp hath runne Miles 1766.

The 3rd May 1634. Wee had ground in 55 Fathome and untill the 8th contrarie and variable Windes, haveinge grounde every daie.

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[1] Mundy visited Mauritius in 1638 and describes the island more fully in *Relation* XXVIII.

The 5th May 1634. Wee sawe land but made it not.

The 8th May 1634. There were store of faire great Breames taken with Hookes.

The 10th May 1634. Wee had noe ground in 200 Fathome, by which they conceved to have doubled Cape d'Aghullas [Agulhas].

The 13th May 1634. This day wee Anchored in Saldania [Saldanha, really Table] Bay[1].

The 22nd May 1634. Wee sett saile from Saldania and passed betwene the Maine and Penguin [now Robben] Island, where is from 8 to 19 Fathome of water.

The 23rd May 1634. One of our Men fell overboard and was drowned, and noe possibillitie of saveing him, for that hee sunck downe right and never rose more, while wee were all att Eveninge prayer. The Longitude accompted from the Cape of Good Hope.

In this moneth the Shipp hath runne...Miles 1136[2].

The Cape of Bona Esperanza or Good Hope.

El Cabo de Bona Esperanza or the Cape of Good Hope is that most famous and great Promontory of Africa that stretcheth it selfe soe farr to the South in the Ocean Sea, by which now is the passage to Persia, East India, South Sea [Indian Archipelago], Moluccaes, China, Japan, etts. Itt was soe named by the Portugalls att their first findeinge of it, after they had Coasted all the west part of Africa till they came hither, where they found the Land to trend about, soe had good hope to finde the passage to East India, which they had soe longe laboured to finde, to their extreme cost, hazard, and losse of men. The Land in generall is high, but the Cape it selfe is a small Rocke or Island, the outermost of two that stand offe of a round poynte.

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[1] See *Relation* IV., note on p. 12.

[2] According to Mundy's own figures, the number of miles is 1130.

Saldania Bay, rather Table Bay.

The Bay of Saldania is that roade where usuallye shipps both out and home put in for water etts. refreshing[1] to be had in former tyme, *vizt.*, beefe, sheepe, etts., [in exchange] for Iron hoopes, peeces of Copper etts., but now not to bee procured by all, except what the land it selfe affoards, as very good Water, 3 leav'd grasse (a kinde of Sorrell as wee have in England), Muscles and fish [lobsters, limpotts, Perriwinckles][2], (if they have meanes to Catch them), Also Fowle for the Killinge. Beasts and Cattle wee sawe none, but likelyhood of some to have bene there, findeing the Dunge of Eliphants, Kine, deere, etts. porcupines also, there being one of their holes with store of their quills about it. There have bine Lyons often seene heere, but wee mett with none, nor any fish att all (except Muscles). On the Shoare great bones of Whales which usually frequents the Bay, and a number of Seales. Fowles there are of sundry sorts, as Estridges [ostriches] which have bene seene by some, and their Eggs by many brought to truck, a good meate.

Heere are also Pellicans, Geese, Ducks, Kites, Crowes and other small birds, of which there is one that hangeth his nest on a Sprigg over the water like to those in India[3]. Also many severall sorts of sweete herbes, some knowne to us, as Tansey, Cammomile, etts.

People att the Cape.

The People here are in Coullour swart like those in India or Mulatoes in Spaine. The Men have verye litle

[1] For contemporary descriptions of "Saldania," "Saldaigne," Saldanha (Table) Bay, see Pyrard, ed. Gray, I. 13; Herbert, p. 13; Dellon (supplement), p. 16.

[2] These additional words are found in the margin.

[3] One of the African species of weaver-bird. See *Relation* v. p. 37, for Mundy's account of a nest he saw at Surat.

or noe beards, being also without any Religion, Lawe, Arte or Civility that wee could see. It beinge now neere midwinter heere, each of them had a kinde of Cloake or Mantle, made comonly of Seales Skinns or other, sowed together. Some have close Capps of the same, Also Shooes which have only the Soles, from which come two stringes, one over their Toes, and the other over their heeles. This mantle, when they goe abroad, they cast over their heads and shoulders, which reacheth downe to their Buttocks[1]. There Armes are Bowes, arrowes and Darts, each of them carryeing a Bagg made of a whole Skinn stripped off, as of a litle Calfe, deere, Seale, etts. wherein they carry what they have, as their sticks, wherewith they kindle fire, their shooes, peeces of rawe meate, Gutts or anything els they make accompt of[2]. They rubb the end of one of the said Sticks into a hole made in the other, and soe kindle fire when they list. This they did before us. Before their privities they hang a peece of skinn, as broad and as longe as a mans hand, with the Furr upper most. This hangeth loose over like a Penthowse. They have but one stone each; the other is broken when they are litle Children; the reason wee could not learne. Theis that are hereabouts (by reporte) are of a baser Sort and live in feare of others called Saldania men, whoe are further in the Land. They eate the skinns of beasts or fowle, only sindgeing the haire and feathers a litle, halfe scortched, Also the Intralls, small gutts and garbage, excrament and all, only quarter broiled or warmed in the fire. Att our Anchoringe, 4 or 5 came aboard in the first boates, unto whome our Captaine

[1] Here is a marginal note—"With this they cover themselves when they sleepe."

[2] For other seventeenth century descriptions of the inhabitants of the Cape, see Pyrard, ed. Gray, I. 38; Jourdain, ed. Foster, pp. 13 ff.; Roe, ed. Foster, pp. 11—12; Herbert, pp. 16—17; Dellon (supplement), p. 14; Tavernier, ed. Ball, II. 392—395; Ovington, pp. 489 ff.

cawsed to bee given bread, Rice, Racke [*'arak*, spirit], etts. from the great Cabbin. They went to the Cooke roome and there they fell fowle of the Tallowe Table, wherewith haveing first filled their bellies, they rubb their bodies and Skinn Coverings, and some they carried away in Trombes [*tromba marina*] to serve their Turne att other tymes. Trombes are a great hollow weede, groweinge on the Seashore[1].

Neere the Roade are 4 notable places, *vizt.*, the Table, the Sugar loafe, Charles Mount and James Mounte.

The Table.

The Table is a verie highe mountaine, soe called because it is levell att the topp; most part is as a perpendicular rocke[2]. The height of it was taken by Mr Thomas Barlowe[3] with an instrument and found to bee 660 Geometricall paces or 3,300 foote [actually 3585 ft.] from the Topp downe right to the superficies, plummett wise, att 3 mile distance from the Tent sett upp for sick men close by the waterside, betwene which and the hill is a pleasant and firtle valley with sundrie prettie Rivers in it.

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[1] See *Relation* IV., note on p. 7.

[2] See Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 17 and Herbert, p. 14, for remarks on Table Mountain.

[3] Thomas Barlow sailed to Surat in the *Mary*, in 1631, as secretary to William Fielding, Earl of Denbigh, the first nobleman to make a pleasure trip to India. The Earl returned to England in the *James*, in Jan. 1633, but Barlow, who had been left by his patron at Gombroon "upon some difference between them" and had subsequently found his way back to Surat, was appointed fourth in the *Exchange* bound to Sumatra and thence to England. He, however, seems to have returned to Surat by another ship in time to sail for England in the *Mary* (see *English Factories*, 1630—1633). Mundy again alludes to his fellow passenger in *Relation* XX. After Barlow's return to England, the Court decided, in Sept. 1634, that since he was "a proper gentleman," and "an excellent mathematician, the chief cause of his travels being for the bettering of his knowledge in that art," he should have "his passage and diet given him freely, not having used private trade." *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1630—1634, Nos. 606, 608.

My selfe and two others went upp by a great openinge and division which the Hill makes [the "Gorge"], betwene being like a valley, but wondrous steepie, the rocks on each side upright like monstrous walls, from whome there is continuall distillinge Water. Wee were faine to pull and help our selves upp by the rushes and longe grasse, and had some raine mingled with Snowe att our goeinge upp. Wee found it aloft like a plaine downe, many greate flatt stones lyeing levell with the earth. It beinge somewhat late, wee had not time to take a perticuler view of it[1], only in my opinion the levell alofte may bee about a mile longe [really about two miles], a quarter broad in some places where are deere sometymes to bee seene. Soe haveinge left a Token of our being there (3 stones erected), wee returned, and halfway found the rest of our Company[2], whoe stayed for us, and because it was dark, or (as some said) to drive away Lyons etts. wilde beasts, had made a mightie fire. Soe wee altogether returned towards the Tent. In one of the Ryoletts [rivulets][3] that wee passed was a huge smooth declineing [sunken] Rocke, over which the water glided, waxed[4], retorted [turned backward] and purled, verie pleasant to see too. Wee went out about 1 a Clock and returned by 8 att night. This hill is never uncovered with Clowds but in verie faire weather, Soe that it is an infallible rule That when the Table is Covered, their succeedes dirt and raine, and contrary-wise, when it is uncovered. I have bine the more learger, because this hill is much nominated [frequently mentioned] by Seamen.

[1] Here is a marginal note—"There came a cloud towards and enclosed us, Wee being as it were in a great mist; it passed quickly away, leaving us a little wett."

[2] Here is a note in Mundy's own writing—"Wee sett out in all about 13 or 14."

[3] This spelling is unusual and there is no instance of it in the *O. E. D.*

[4] The *Harl.* copy has "glided and waned."

The Sugar Loafe.

Next is the Sugar loafe, because in forme it resembles one. Att the Topp I found sundrie Tokens of Englishmen, as Thomas Lukins engraven on a stone, S. W. 1630, etts.[1] On the Topp it is not a Coyts [quoits] Cast longe and a [quarter] soe broad, verie upright, haveing somewhat to doe to gett upp, my Company staying behinde. This is alsoe a noted place and about three quarters soe high as the Table[2].

Charles Mount.

Then there is Charles Mount, another hill to the S.E. of the Roade, haveing in it huge Rocks, whose veines lye in such manner That from afarr it resembles a Fortresse, only it ends in a poynt. Heere wee could not see any signe of people. It is about three quarters as high as the Sugar loaffe [3315 ft.]. Of the nature of this Rock or mount, there are 11 or 12 just under the Table, which appeare like so many Supporters[3] and as though placed and done by Arte.

James Mount.

Last of all James Mount, consistinge of twoe riseinges, beinge a round and more leasurely ascendinge hill then the rest. Att the first riseinge is a great heape of stones put together by the English Comaunders att the nameing of it[4], and others both then and since. This may bee

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[1] I cannot identify these individuals.

[2] Mundy is describing the Lion's Head, one of the two wings of the front of Table Mountain. Its height is 2160 ft. It resembles a dome placed on a conical hill. Herbert, p. 14, speaks of "Herberts mount, a Piramid adjoyning [the Table] like the Sugar loafe, another hill so named."

[3] In the margin Mundy has added "Buttresses."

[4] "Charles Mount" and "James Mount" represent the Devil's Peak and the Lion's Rump or Signal Hill. Herbert, p. 16, says that they were so named, in honour of the English sovereign and his son, by Captain Humphrey Fitzherbert. In June 1620, Fitzherbert, Captain of the

three quarters as high as Charles Mount, rather lesse [about 1700 ft.].

Now because theis places are often spoken of in theis voyages, I have sett downe the prospect of them from the Shipp as neere as I can remember in the figure on the other side[1], *vizt.*,

[Mundy's description of Illustration No. 26.]

A. The Topp of the great hill called the Table.

B. The goeing upp thereto betwene a monstrous Clefte or openinge.

C. A prettie brooke which cometh from the said openinge and runneth by the Tent.

D. The Tent where the sicke men ly ashoare.

E. James his Mounte.

F. The Sugar loafe.

G. The Valley or plaine under the Hill.

H. Charles his Mounte, being certaine Rocks on the Topp of a Hill resemblinge a Castle afarr off.

I. The place where our shipp rode, called Table bay and by some Saldania Bay.

K. The Buttresses or supporters under the Table beinge of the Nature of Charles his Mounte, seemeing artificiall.

The distances and heights not heere to be regarded, it beinge only a superficiall prospect thereof expressed as aforesaid.

Royal Exchange, and Andrew Shilling, Captain of the *Royal Anne* landed at the Cape and left letters there. See *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1618—1621. The two peaks did not long retain their English designation. Mundy is mistaken with regard to the height of the Devil's Peak which is higher than the Lion's Head.

[1] See Illustration No. 26.

No. 26. TABLE MOUNTAIN, CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, 1634

Penguin Island.

Att our comeing into the Roade wee saw fire on Penguin Island[1], but untill wee were ready to sett saile, wee had neither wynde nor weather to goe thither. Upon our departure the roade, wee left letters of advice on the Shoare in the Bay, and in the Shallopp were sent the Coppies of them to the said Island, where went the Master and my selfe. There wee found Hadda, one of theis Countrie people, whome Captaine Pynne[2] had carried with him into Bantam and brought againe hither. Hee spake a litle English and delivered upp letters that Captaine Pynn att his departure left with him. Those letters wee kept and lefte ours with him, adding a Post script of the Contents of those wee carried away. This Island lyeth open with the Road and may conteyne miles in length and in breadth[3].

Heere the said Hadda liveth with all his kindred and Allies, in number about 60 persons, men, weomen and Children. Of the latter there were some soe welfavoured as it could not bee expected in such a place. They came all about us, verie merrilye rejoyceinge att our Comeinge, better apparelled then those on the Maine, though after the same manner, Hadda excepted, whoe that day came in English habitt from head to foote. There were hard by us 7 litle Cottages in a Ranck. Hee would have had us to have gon to them to see them, Alsoe Cowes, Piggs, Henns and Chickins given him by Captaine Pynne, which hee bringeth upp, they multiplyeinge, but wee had not leasure, seing our Shipp comeing under sayle. The said

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[1] For Penguin, *i.e.* Robben or Seal Island, see Jourdain, ed. Foster, pp. 15—16; Herbert, p. 13.

[2] Captain John Pynn, master of the *London*, sailed to Bantam in March 1629 and returned to England in Sept. 1630. See *English Factories*, 1624—1633; *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1624—1634.

[3] There are blanks in the MS. The island is six miles in circumference.

Hadda is Cheife of all that dwell there and Governour of the Island, there being none to molest him, for those of the Maine have not the use of any sort of Boate. They live on Seales and Penguins of whom there are aboundance on th' other side of the Island.

Penguins.

Penguins is a kinde of Fowle that cannot flye att all, haveing resemblance of Wyngs which hang downe like sleeves, with which, as with Finns, hee swimmeth exceeding swifte. They live on Fish. Hee breedeth on the land, makeing his Neste in holes under low bushes and shrubbs. They are easily taken, not being able to flye nor runne, only bite a litle to noe purpose, bodied like a Ducke but much bigger, head and bill like a Gull, malkinge [? walkinge] and goeinge almost upright, blacke on the Back, white under the belly, which cometh to their head round over their Eyes with a stroake that Thwarts [crosses] over their breaste, as per this figure[1]. They taste somewhat fishey. I am also somewhat the learger on this Fowle, because theis are much spoken of, and seemeing verie strange to mee[2]. Of theis wee tooke with our hands as manie as wee listed and brought them aboard. And soe haveinge given Hadda some bread, Racke ['*arak*, spirit] and Iron Hoopes, wee left him to the Government of his Island and came Awaye.

The 10*th June* 1634. St Helena seene.

The 11*th Currant* [*June* 1634] wee anchored in St Helena, ¼ mile from the shoare, betwene Chappell Valley and Lemman Valley, in 20 fathome, Close under the Hills.

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[1] See Illustration No. 27.

[2] Mundy's careful description of the penguin is as accurate as might be expected from so acute an observer. Herbert (p. 13) has some very quaint remarks on this bird and adds that their flesh is "unsapory and offensive." See also Roe, ed. Foster, p. 12.

The 27th [*June* 1634] wee saw Ascention and put by it. From hence the Longitude is accompted[1].

St Helena.

St Helena is an Island in the Ocean, soe called by the Portugalls, being found on St Hellens day[2]. I conceive it to bee the farthest from any other Land then any other Island or part of the World beside, the nearest being Ascention, which is about 210 leagues [680 miles] distance. It is verie rockey, hilly and steepie towards the waterside, for the most part makeing sundrey partitions or vallies, which have each or most of them a litle brooke or Rillett of Fresh water. Amongst the rest is Chappell Vallie and Lemmon valley, the first soe called by reason of a Chappell built there by the Portugalls long time [ago] now almost ruinated[3]. Besides there are the walls of about 40 or 50 dwellings built also by them, Att such tyme as one of their Carracks (there being 3 in Company) proved Leakie and not able to proceed was heere hailed ashoare and her goods landed, where they remained till other shipps from Portugall came and brought all away, dwelling heere in the meane tyme and fortefieing themselves against English, Dutch, or any other that should offer to molest them. Many of the Ribbs of the Carrick were yett to bee seene and aboundance of Iron worke all over the Strond[4]. This

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[1] In the tabular log this entry is scored through. Previous entries are—"10 [June]. St Hellena seene. 11 [June]. Anchored there. 16 [June]. Our departure thence. 17 June. Longitude from thence."

[2] St Helena was discovered by the Portuguese navigator João de Nova on the 21st May 1502.

[3] Mundy paid a second visit to St Helena in Oct. 1638 and then found the chapel "new repaired." He has a further description of the island in *Relation* XXX. See also Pyrard, ed. Gray, II. 296—302.

[4] I have discovered no other record of this enforced temporary Portuguese settlement on St Helena. The stranding of the vessel probably occurred after 1517 when Fernandez Lopez, the first inhabitant, left the island, and before 1588 when Captain Cavendish anchored off Chapel Valley and found a few good buildings and a Roman Catholic Church in existence. See Jackson, *St Helena*, p. 10.

[Chapel, now James] valley I conceive is the leargest and best in all the Island, att least wise that wee have seene. Then there is Lemmon Valley (because it leadeth to the place where Lemmon trees are) and divers others. Each of them will bring you upp alofte where is a verie fine molde [mole] of Earth, although mountainous up Hill and downe Hill, yett neither steepie nor Craggy, excepting neere the Sea as aforesaid. It is in length about 8 miles and in breadth 4 or 5[1], abounding in Goates, of whome you may see many flocks of great numbers every Foote[2], Also aboundance of Hoggs[3], store of litle speckled ginney Henns, partridges and Pigeons, all theis conceived to bee left heere by the Portugalls to encrease for their supplye of refreshing homewards from India, but have nowe forsaken it, being driven hence by us and the Dutch. Heere are also doggs and Catts (runne away), of whome our Companie killed divers. There may bee about 40 Lemmon Trees, *vizt.* about 20 in Lemmon Valley, planted on both sides of a litle brooke and in severall places 2, 3 and 4 together. They taste betwene a Lemmon and a sweete Orenge.

The Island is verie pleasant to see to, alofte in some places faire woods of small Trees with straight stemms and broad bushey spreading Topps[4], and in other places of other sorts; fine round, smooth hills with excellent grasse; many thicketts of Ferne, etts. runninge water in the bottomes [hollows] etts. and groves of trees. There are 2 or 3 places of reasonable plaine ground, as att

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[1] The actual extent of St Helena is ten and a half miles in length and six and three quarters in breadth.

[2] In May 1656, when Mundy paid his third visit to St Helena, he found no goats but many more dogs. To the increase of the latter he ascribed the extermination of the former. *Relation* XXXVI. fol. 230.

[3] In *Relation* XXX. Mundy remarks of the hogs, "their flesh savouring of fish."

[4] Probably the dwarf ebony.

Lemmon vallie[1], and another as you come from thence directly towards the Shipp. In fine, a most excellent place for increase of Cattle. The weather that wee had heere was sunshine and raine 6 or 7 tymes a daye enterchangeablie, which is some reason of the Firtilitie of the Island.

The Sea shore affoards store of sundrie sorts of Fish as Congers (speckled, and differinge from our[s] somewhat in forme)[2], Breame, Rockfish [or wrasse], Mackrell, Scadds [scad or horse mackerel], and another as greene as a Parratt[3], Lobsters or [and] longe Oysters[4]. Of each of theis were taken, some more, some lesse. There was also a Toadfish taken, in forme like a grey Gurnard, only when they hailed him upp hee became as round as a greate foote ball, it haveing a great skinn under his belly from head to Taile which hee filleth with water and emptieth as hee lists[5] as per this figure[6].

Myselfe (in a litle Cove hard by Chappell Valley) found a flyeing fish and brought it aboard. There was none in the Shipp that ever sawe a bigger. It was betwene 18 and 19 inches longe and weighed 26 ounces good. It hath the forme of a mackrell att first sight, but it had the head, mouth, back, scales and coulour of a Mullett, with great Eyes, and the lower part of the Finne of his tayle much longer then the upper. It had 4 wyngs,

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[1] On the north-west of the island.

[2] Off the coast of St Helena are found white, red, speckled, and green conger-eels.

[3] Two kinds of green fish frequent the coast of St Helena. The green wrasse (*labrus viridis*) may be meant.

[4] Mundy's list is here a little confused. He seems to mean lobsters, *i.e.*, the cray-fish known as Longlegs and Stumps (which resembles the lobster), and rock oysters.

[5] The name toadfish is applied to several distinct fishes. The fish described by Mundy appears to be one of the species of globe-fishes or puffers (*tetraodontidae*), probably the *tetraodon hispidus*.

[6] See Illustration No. 28.

2 great and 2 small, the 2 great reached from ½ inch of his gills to halfe inch of the end of his body. The twoe lesser were under his bellye towards his tayle, right over whom on his backe was a small Finne lesseninge towards the Taile[1]. It was daintie meate, the figure of which is heere expressed[2].

Att our Comeing in hither, wee sawe a Couple of Whales[3], said to bee in heate or Katte, for they went wallowinge, puffinge and spowtinge, sometymes side by side, then their Tailes, then their heads aloft; Then but one to bee seene with most of his head above water, as it were standinge upright. In the meane while there were a number of porposes, leapeing, skipping and playeinge round about them, soe that the Sea seemed to boyle where they were.

Our Captaine etts. merchants went one day in the Shallopp to certaine litle rockie Islands to the westward[4], where, with our sticks and hands, wee struck downe and Caught neere 100 Sea fowle, russett Coulour, almost as bigg as a pidgeon but tast very fishey. By reason there was a great su[r]ffe wee could not land att the principall place or Island where were Tropicke birds[5], Gunnett [gannet], Seameues [sea-mews, gulls], etts.

The tyme of our stay heere the Captaine enordered the people to goe ashoare by turnes in Companies, where they would remaine 3 or 4 dayes refreshing themselves with what they caught and killed, sending part aboard. In all wee caught about 130 or 140 Goates, hoggs, kidds and

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[1] This is an accurate description of the *exocoetus volitans* or flying-fish (not the flying gurnard). The length is not exaggerated. Some have been picked up at St Helena measuring two feet.

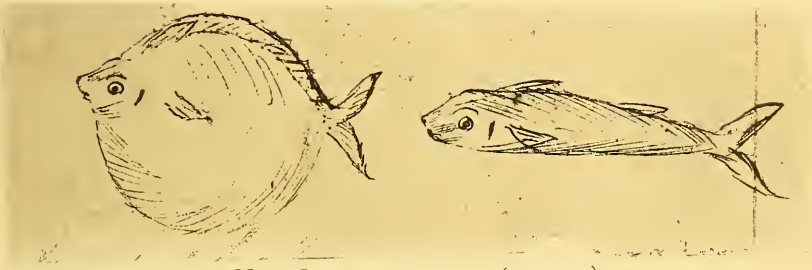
[2] See Illustration No. 29.

[3] The species of whales which frequents St Helena is known as the "race-horse" whale.

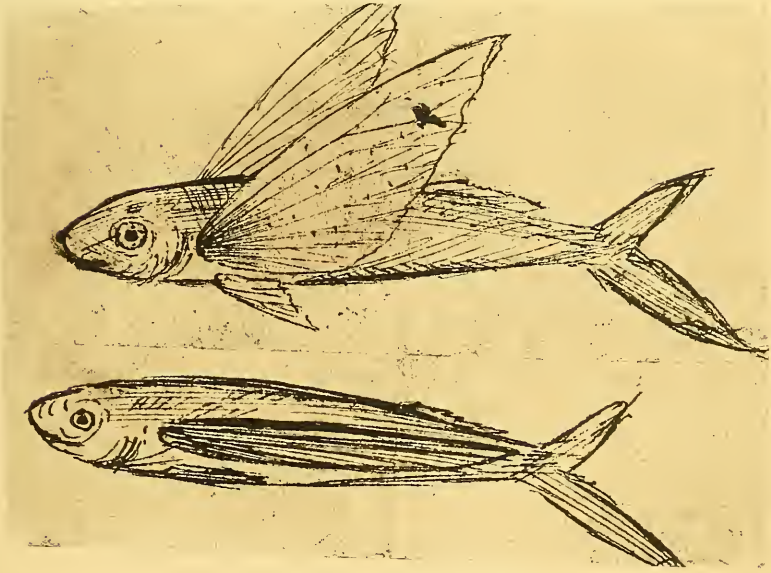
[4] Egg island, Sperie island and George island.

[5] See *Relation* IV., note on p. 7.

No. 27. A PENGUIN
(see p. 328)



No. 28. A TOAD FISH (PUFFER)
(see p. 331)



No. 29. A FLYING FISH
(see p. 332)

piggs, most part killed by small shott and some taken by Hand alive. Those that remained were fishers ashoare in boates or aboard Shipp. Mee thought for the tyme wee had very good refreshinge and recreation, all the while rideing within quarter of a mile of the shoare under the hills to the North west side, the wynde hereabouts, as also betwene the Two Tropicks, bloweing perpetually neere the S.E., Soe that wee lay becalmed and in smooth water verie secure.

Ascention.

The Island of Ascention is accompted bigger then St Hellena[1], but by report there is not soe much as fresh water upon it, verie bare and nothinge to bee had there but Sea Fowle and fish, of which there is aboundance. Noe shipp would willingly touch there, except [it] put by St Hellena, which if they overshoote, It is hard or noe fetching it againe, by reason of wynde and Currant settinge to the N.W.

In this moneth the Shipp hath runne Miles 1977½.

July 1634. The [2] Currant a man fell overboard, but gettinge hold of a Joynstoole [joint-stool] throwne over to him, hee was saved by hoysing out the Jolly boate, although it were rough Weather.

In this moneth the Shipp hath runne Miles 2359.

August 1634. The first Currant wee saw weedes[3] which last[ed] us untill the 21th, soe that wee came[4] neere 1400 miles amongst them. They are farr from any land, as by the Latitude and Longitude [28° N. Lat. 33° 20′ W.

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[1] Mundy's informant was wrong. The circumference of St Helena is 47 miles and that of Ascension 33 miles. Twenty-two years later, in June 1656, Mundy anchored off Ascension. He gives a more accurate description of the island in *Relation* XXX. fol. 231.

[2] There is a blank here in the original.

[3] Here is a marginal note—"Weedes in the Ocean; By the Portugalls called Sargass [*sargaço*, gulf-weed]."

[4] The *Harl.* copy has "ran."

Long. from St Hellena], fleeting [floating] on the water, sometymes in great plotts, but comonly in scatred parcells. It is a small bushey branch with a litle round, hard berry, coulour sad [dark] yellow[1], supposed to bee beaten of[f] from the Westerne World, *vizt.*, Florida, Virginia, etts., or some one of them, by the continuall westerly winde bloweing from thence, and in this Clymate meeting with the contrarie continuall Easterly Monsoone, they are kept hereabouts floatinge and driven to and fro.

The 2nd August 1634. Robert Gwin died.

The 20th August 1634. Henry Crispe deceased.

The 23rd August 1634. Henry Burnett deceased.

The 25th August 1634. Wee sawe a Shipp att which wee rejoyced hopeinge to speake with her, as well to understand of our freinds in England as also to gett some refreshing for our sick men, there beinge 40 downe with a kinde of Swellinge like a dropsie [beri-beri], of which they die if not refreshed in tyme. But shee would not come neere us, nor could wee follow her, but used all possible Sea sines [signs, signals], as putting out our Coulours, strikeing our Topp gallant sayles, hoyseinge and lowringe our foretopsaile 5 or 6 severall tymes, shooteing off 2 peeces of Ordinance[2], but all in vaine, as aforesaid, haveing seene never a shipp since the 16th of Aprill past.

The 26th August 1634. Wee sawe 2 other shipps whoe steered right with our Stemme, with whome wee spake. They were the *Griffin*, Admirall, and the *Phillipp* Commanded by Mr Bab[3], bound for New England. Our Master and my selfe went aboard the Admirall for the purpose aforesaid, in whome were above 200 persons, most

[1] See Herbert, p. 20 and Thévenot, Pt. II. Book IV. p. 195 for further remarks on *sargaço.*

[2] Here is a marginal note—"Signes used at sea to speak with shippinge."

[3] Thomas Babb "of Wapping, merchant" is the person meant. See *Cal. State Papers, Colonial*, 1554—1660, pp. 173, 261.

part passengers, Men, weomen and children, goeing to that plantation. Hee would willingly have spared us some beere, but the Sea was high and wee could not take it in. Any thing els could not well bee spared, by reason of the number of people, longe voyage, and contrarye wynde; soe tooke our leaves and came away.

Note that to the Northward of 40 degrees wee could light on noe fish, which formerly wee did now and then, as Dolphines, Boneetes[1], Sharkes, etts. They say it is the Cold keepes them hence, Neither from the height [latitude] of Cape de Verde were scarse any sea fowle to bee seene.

In all this moneth wee have runne Miles 2382[2].

I conceave there may be errors in these tables, either they were soe in the Originall or elce a fault in the transcription[3].

The 1st September 1634. Wee had sight of 3 shipps, could not come to speake to any of them, although wee made the accustomed signes.

The 2nd, 3rd, 4th September 1634. Theis 3 dayes wee had sight of many other shipps, but could not come to speake with any, although wee most earnestly desired it. These 4 dayes wee continually sounded from 88 Fathome till wee came into 59 and 55 Fathome.

The 5th September 1634. Wee speake with 2 barques of Plimouth[4], whoe supplyed us with poore John [dried hake], some bread, henns, etts. This day wee had sight of Silly Islands, And this day also wee buried Goodman Wilson, our Smith.

The 6th September 1634. Wee spake with Sir John

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[1] For bonitos, see *Relation* IV., note on p. 15.

[2] The total is 2392 according to Mundy's figures.

[3] This note is in Mundy's own writing and was probably added when he revised the MS.

[4] In the margin is added "came from Newfoundland."

Pennington, Captaine in the *Charles*, Admirall, and the *Garland*, vice-Admirall, with the Xth whelpe[1], whoe supplyed us with good beere, beeffe, peas, etts. And this day John Oliver was buried in the Sea.

The 7th September 1634. Wee spake with the first Whelpe, of whome wee alsoe gott some refreshinge, And this night one of our men, John Gee, unfortunately fell overboard, and could not bee saved, by reason it was darke and the shipp haveinge verye fresh way.

The 8th September 1634. Wee spake with a shipp that came from Lisbone, from whome wee had some Lemmons for our sick men.

The 9th September 1634. Wee came before Dover and were there put on shoare, Mr John Norris, Mr Henry Glascock, Mr Thomas Wilbraham and my selfe, of whome the former had remained in India 10½ Yeres, the other 2 each 8½ yeres and my selfe 6½, I meane since our departure hence untill our safe Arrivall heere againe, for which Gods name bee blessed and praised. Amen.

[*1st to 9th September* 1634] miles ..... 522.

The 10th September 1634. About 2 in the afternoone wee tooke post horses, and by 6 in the morninge wee arrived in the Cittie of London, It beinge Miles 57.

From Suratt in East India to London is by computation Miles 13718½, whereof only Miles 57 by land and the rest, miles 13661½ by Sea, in all Miles 13718½[2].

The 21st September 1634. The *Royall Mary* arrived att Eriffe [Erith] in saffetie with her Loadinge, although with many sick men, It being 7 monethes and 9 dayes since

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[1] Captain Sir John Pennington was made captain of the *Charles* and "Admiral of the Fleet employed in the Narrow Seas" on the 30th May 1634. The "Ten Lions Whelps," also known as the "King's Pinnaces," were built in 1627. See *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1627—1634.

[2] In the outward voyage Mundy's figures give a total of 14,404 miles from England to Surat. See *Relation* IV., note on p. 17.

her departure from the outer Road of Swally till her Anchoringe in the Downes, and in all, till her arrivall att Erriffe 7 moneths 21 dayes, from the first of February Anno 1633 [1634] to the 21th day of September Anno 1634.

Addition to Relation XIX.

Peter Munday his accompt to bee cast upp[1].

A Courte of Comittees houlden the 14th of November 1634. Peter Munday remonstrated [represented] to the Court his 7 yeares good service, and that hee had brought home his whole estate in Indico and Callicoes which are now in the Companys hands, and humbly desired delivery of the said goods and payment of his wages due upon accompt his Indico Containing 42 maunds and Callicoes 200 ps. The Court taking notice that Sir Paul Pinder, a worthy freind to the Company, had in private to divers perticuler men seriously recommended this man for the Companys favor[2], and yett well approved of their late order, thereupon the Court was pleased to order his accompts to bee Cast upp against the next Court and then the busines to bee taken into further Consideration.

Peter Munday his goods to bee delivered and gratified with 100 *li*[3].

A Courte of Comittees houlden the 21th of November 1634. Peeter Munday was suytor againe for his wages, and for delivery of such goods as hee hath brought home as private Trade, the perticulers whereof were now presented to the Court, of which the Court taking consideration and remembring that hee is specially recommended to their favors from Sir Paul Pinder, they were pleased to order the payment of his wages and delivery of such of his goods as are

[1] *Court Minutes*, vol. XV. fol. 93.

[2] See vol. I. for Mundy's relations with Sir Paul Pindar.

[3] *Court Minutes*, vol. XV. fol. 97.

not the Companys Comodities[1]; but for the Indico to reserve the same in their hands according to their orders which they will not infringe, alloweing him for the same the Companys price, *vizt.*, 3*s.* per *lb.* free of fraight, Custome, and other charges[2]. And in regard he hath served the Company long and hath done them good service, they were pleased in that respect and for Sir Paul Pynders sake, who is a Gentleman the Court doth much honor, to bestow upon him as a gratification the summe of 100 *li.*

Peter Munday his bond to bee delivered[3].

A Courte of Comittees houlden the 28th day of November 1634. The Court having Cleared with Peter Munday, one of their Factors returned from Suratt, did order his bonds to bee delivered upp to bee Cancelled.

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[1] In May 1633, one Thomas Fenn purchased clandestinely from one of the Company's ships 150 ps. of calico at 8*s.* per ps. and sold the same at 10*s.* per ps. (*Cal. State Papers, E.I.*, 1630—1634, p. 413). From this statement we may assume that Mundy's calicoes were worth in England about 10*s.* per piece, or £100 for 200 pieces.

[2] At 40 lbs. the Surat maund of the period, this represents a payment of £252 for 42 maunds.

[3] *Court Minutes*, vol. XV. fol. 111.

APPENDIX A.

THE FAMINE OF 1630—1632.

In explanation of Mundy's statements[1], it has been thought worth while to gather together here all that has been recorded of this terrible disaster of the early English days in India.

One of the most important facts Mundy brings out about the effects of the famine on the Europeans in Gujarāt is the disastrous death roll amongst the Company's servants in the following year, the result, no doubt, of the physical weakness following on any famine which is severe and general in its extent.

Extracts from seventeenth century writers regarding the famine.

1. 7 *October* 1630. Met two small boats [near Bassein] full of pour pepooll that came from Cambay bound for the Decans countrye, by reasonn of the exstream famyne in Cambay and all the Mogolls countrye. We let them pase cleare, seing ther was no Portingalls in them. *John Vian's Account of the Cruise to the Comoro Islands* (*English Factories*, 1630—1633, p. 45).

2. 2 *November* 1630. On this coaste [Masulipatam] is a great and mortall dearth, which begann three yeares since and still increaseth, which with the unusuall great cargazone invested this yeere in this place, with the many free traders Dutch and Danes, etc., hath raised the prise off cloth to an extraordinary rate, and scarce to be so procured, and hath allso beaten downe

[1] See *Relation* v. p. 38; *Relation* vi. *passim*; *Relation* xvi. pp. 248, 262, 265, 271, 272—276.

the prise of gold, allum, and broadcloth, that in one hundred yeeres there hath not, neither may be expeckted, the like, to the great hinderance and losse to our parte of the Second Generall Voyadge. *George Willoughby &c. at Masulipatam to the Company* (*English Factories*, 1630—1633, p. 79).

3. 12 *November* 1630. Rice being much needed [at Surat], it is suggested that a quantity should be procured from Macassar before the ships' arrival, to supply their own wants and serve the markets here or in Persia, in case that Gods heavye wrath should not be yet appeased in the further punishing of these people. *President Rastell and Council at Surat to the factors at Masulipatam and Bantam* (*English Factories*, 1630—1633, p. 94).

4. 17 *November* 1630. You cannot be unprivy to the universall callamytie of this countrie, by reason of dearth and famine, nowe growne to such an extreame that wee ourselves are become behoulding for corne even to supply our household provisions. How destitute therefore wee are of all meanes and hopes to furnish you with either bread or rice from hence let this just complaint of ours informe you, and make you sensible of the miserye. It remaynes hereupon that you therefore put your people to a shorter allowance of bisket, though you inlarge the more in flesh. Of rack [*'arak*] you may not expect any more then one [? cask] but to be sent you before your departure hence for Persia. What we shalbe able to provide in your absence wee cannot promise, the distillers being all of them (or the most part) with their famylies departed into the parts of more hoped plenty, as are many thousands besides, as well weavers, washers, dyers, etc.; that puts us allmost into dispaire of a competent lading for the succeeding yeares home retourns; and yet these are but the beginings of greater woe yet to come. *President Rastell and Council at Surat to the Commanders at Swally* (*English Factories*, 1630—1633, p. 97).

5. 31 *December* 1630. These [attacks from the Portuguese] were the disturbances which your President, etc., were to struggle with at their first arrivall. And not these alone, but others also, though not so daungerous, yet difficult too, by reason of an universall dearth over all this continent, of whose like in these parts noe former age hath record; the country being wholy dismanteled by drougth, and to those that were not formerly

provided noe graine for either man or beast to be purchast for money, though at seavenfould the price of former tymes acustomed; the poore mechaniques, weavers, washers, dyers, etc., abandoning their habitacions in multitudes, and instead of reliefe elcewhere have perished in the feilds for want of food to sustaine them. Hence it came to pass that for many dayes after our arrivall there were noe carts or beasts of burden to be had upon any condition whatsoever; by which meanes for a while wee were greatly hindred in the usuall prosecution of our bussines, till from the inland countrye (where was some plenty for cattell) wee were otherwise provided....

[Gold] is now somewhat fallen in price by reason of this extraordinary dearth before touched, the richer sort falling short of their wonted incomes and profitts, and are therefore disabled of the meanes to buy and hourd up gould as in former tymes; and contrarywise the poorer people constrained to sell their goulden jewells to buy them food....

This direfull tyme of dearth and the Kings continued warrs with the Decans disjoynted all trade out of frame; the former calamitie haveing fild the waies with desperate multitudes, who, setting their lives att nought, care not what they enterprize soe they may but purchase meanes for feeding, and will not dispence with the nakedest passenger, not soe much as our poore pattamars [*pathmār*, runner] with letters, who, if not murthered on the way, doe seldome escape unryfled, and thereby our advises often miscarried on the other side. *President Rastell, &c., at Surat to the Company* (*English Factories*, 1630—1633, pp. 122, 123, 129).

6. 8 *January* 1631. Found everything in good order at Surat; onley a most mizerable mortall[it]y amongst the natives of this country, who for want of food (with [*i.e.* like] Jacobs sonns) with their whole famylyes dayley travell into forrain partes to seeck bread. And for want of this last yeares rayne is soe much augemented that, onely for want of sustenance with food, the poore people lye as a woefull spectacle to behould in our streetes and highwayes as wee passe along, dying and dead in great nombers. *James Bickford at Swally to Edward Sherborne, Secretary to the Company* (*English Factories*, 1630—1633, pp. 134—135).

7. 22 *March* 1631. Sailed to Persia on January 7 and arrived on February 7. Embarked [thence] 70 passengers, 800 packages of theirs, and 459 bags of grain and 488 baskets of dates to supply the wants of the ships and factories in India. *Richard Barry aboard the Royal James to the Company* (*English Factories*, 1630—1633, p. 143).

8. 18 *April* 1631. The famine raging here renders it advisable that they should collect any rice or other grain they can get at the Comoros. For this purpose they may barter some of their goods, and they may also open one chest of the rials delivered to Captain Wills, using, however, strict economy in both directions. *President Rastell and Council at Surat to* [*the Fleet expected from England*] (*English Factories*, 1630—1633, p. 145).

9. 22 *April* 1631. The want of carts, owing to the mortality caused by the famine, delayed the dispeed of the fleet for Persia till January 7...[by April 5] the investments made at Ahmadābād and Cambay for Bantam, etc., had not fully come down to the port [of Swally]; and a great blessing it was that wee procured its transport, though at five tymes the rates of former yeares, amounting not to less than 30 or 40 per centum (the verie charge of cartage) more then prime cost of the goods themselves; which we hope you will consider by its countervaile in sales...but more principally the small quantities of like goods to be expected the yeare insueing, these parts of Guzerat above all other being bereaft of the greater part of weavers, washers, and dyers, who (such as are escaped the direfull stroake of famine) are disperst into forraigne parts of greater plentie, leaveing few or none of their facullty to putt either themselves or us into action; and God knowes many yeares must pass ere the ordinarie traffick of these parts be resettled againe into its wonted frame and condition. *President Rastell and Council at Surat to the Agent and Council of Bantam* (*English Factories*, 1630—1633, pp. 145—146).

10. 8 *September* 1631. Twas happy it fell out so [*i.e.*, that an early investment had been made in the southern factories] considering the tymes, which are reduc't to that change and miserie (in these parts of Guzerat especially) as, besides the excessive rates of Serquez [Sarkhej] indico and all manner of

Indian cloathing (too deare by much to render it profitable in England), theres no goods (except Agra indigo), no, not to be had for mony....The raynes hereabout having falne superfluously which with bad government is cause of the highest extreame of scarcity, wheate and rice being risson to $2\frac{1}{2}$ sere for a mamoodee, butter at a seare and a quarter, a hen at 4 or 5 ma[moodees] (and rare it is to see one); and to afflict the more, not a family throughout either here or Baroch that hath not been vissited with agues, feavors, and pestilentiall diseases. God avert these judgments from us, and give us strength to suffer His chastisements with patience. *President Rastell and Council at Surat to the Agent and factors at Bantam* (*English Factories*, 1630—1633, pp. 164, 165—166).

11. 9 *December* 1631. Here at our arrivall wee found the Presidentt in health, but all the merchants in this factory either dead or sicke, those liveinge hardly able to helpe one another; the towne itselfe and all the countrey adjoyneing in a manner unpeopled. Soe that the tymes here are soe miserable that never in the memory of man any the like famine and mortallity hapened. This that was in a manner the garden of the world is nowe turned into a wildernes, haveinge fewe or noe men left to manure [cultivate] theire grownd nor to labour in any profession; soe that places here that have yealded 15 bayles cloath made them in a day hardly yealds nowe three in a moneth. Amadavaz, that likewise yealded 3,000 bayles indico yearely or more, nowe hardly yealds 300; yett a plentifull yeare for yts grouth, but fewe men liveinge to gather it, but lies rottinge on the grownd. Agra hath not bin toucht with this famine nor mortallity, but continewes in its former estate; but that place affords little to satisfie soe maney buyers, espetially the Dutch and English towards the ladinge of our shipps; and whatt we shall doe to gaine our ladinge against the next yeare God Almightie only knowes, for wee knowe not. And yours and our unhappines is the more for the losse of Mr Rastell, our late Presidentt, whoe deceased the 7th November last, and left not a man behind him in this factory Suratt able to manadge your affaires in theis miserable and distracted tymes. Mr Hopkinson is left only that knowes your busines, but is soe sicke and weake that he is not able to performe whatt he should endeavour.

Those that live in the subordinate factoris have likewise bin sicke, but at present wee heare are well recovered, *vizt.*, Mr [Nathaniel] Mountney at Amadavaz, Mr Rann [Ralph Rand] at Cambay, Mr [Thomas] Joyce at Broatch, Mr Witch [Nathaniel Wyche] at Brawdro [Baroda]. *Captain James Slade, &c., aboard the Mary [at Swally] to the Company* (*English Factories*, 1630—1633, pp. 178—179).

12. 21 *December* 1631. After our departure from Batavia wee arrived att Suratt the 23th [13th O.S.] October last. And goinge ashore to a villadg called Swalley, wee sawe there manie people that perished of hunger; and wheras hertofore there were in that towne 260 famillyes, ther was not remaininge alive above 10 or 11 famillyes. And as wee travelled from thence to the cytty of Suratt, manie dead bodyes laye uppon the hye way; and where they dyed they must consume of themselves, beinge nobody that would buirey them. And when wee came into the cytty of Suratt, wee hardly could see anie livinge persons, where heretofore was thousands; and ther is so great a stanch of dead persons that the sound people that came into the towne were with the smell infected, and att the corners of the streets the dead laye 20 togeather, one upon thother, nobody buir[y]ing them. The mortallyty in this towne is and hath bin so great that there have dyed above 30,000 people. The Englishe house and ours is as yf one came into the hospitall of Bata[via]. Ther is dead of the Englishe factors 10 or 11 persons, and of ours 3. Those that remaine alive of the Englishe are verey sorrowfull for the death of Mr Rastall, their President, who dyed about 20 dayes sythence. In these parts ther may not bee anie trade expected this three yeares. No man can goe in the streets but must resolve to give great almes or be in danger of being murthered, for the poore people cry with a loude voice: "Give us sustenance or kill us." The faire feilds hereabout are all drowned with great fluds and the fruits of the earth cleane washed away with these waters. The waters were so highe in the cytty, by reason of the fludds, that wee could passe from one house to the other butt by boats; which was never knowne in the memorie of anie livinge man. *A Dutch Factor at Surat to a member of the Dutch Council at Batavia* (*English Factories*, 1630—1633, pp. 180—181).

13. 18 *February* 1632. [John Hunter proceeding to Cambay is] already aware of the distracted state of the Company's affairs at Cambay, famine and mortality having deprived them of many of their workmen and also of divers merchants to whom they had advanced money for goods for Bantam, Sumatra, and Persia. Many of the latter have fled to places of more plentie, others are dead with ther whole kindred, and others again are impoverished in their estates. To add one misery to another, Ralph Rand, the factor there, is dead, while the broker, Chowte [Chhotā] has come down to Surat without permission to be present at the death of his brother Gourdas [Gur Dās].... *Directions from the President and Council at Surat to John Hunter* (*English Factories*, 1630—1633, p. 208).

14. 8 *May* 1632. The famine increassing in India was followed with the pestilence, bothe which destroyed infinite nombers of people. At last it pleased God to send raine, butt in soe great aboundance that it drowned and carryed awaie all the corne and other graine, etc., whiche that afflicted people had made hard shifte to sowe, and made such inundations as hath nott been knowne or heard off in those partes. Soe that by theise meanes the townes and countryes of Guzeratt are almost desolate and depopulated. Amidst these heavy afflictions itt pleased God to take awaie divers of your worthy and well deserving servants, amongst whome your President, Mr Thomas Rastell, with two of his Council, *viz.*, Mr James Bickford and Mr Arthur Suffeild....From Persia wee heare bad newes alsoe, as that you may expect noe more then neere 400 bales of silke from thence this yeare....Divers of your servants likewise there lately deceassed, and the silke wormes perrished. *John Skibbow and John Bangham, aboard the Great James at Mauritius, to the Company* (*English Factories*, 1630—1633, p. 218).

15. 23 *January* 1633. Mesulapatam and Armagon was sorely opprest with famine, the liveinge eating up the dead, and men durst scarsly travell in the countrey for feare they should be kild and eaten. Mr [Henry] Sill intended to releeve no place but Armagon. The poore people there, as weavers, painters and dyers, would have all fleed but for expectacion thereof and of other junckes which shuld com in company with that of Mr Sills

and under its proteccion. *Christopher Read at Surat to the Company* (*English Factories*, 1630—1633, p. 268).

16. 15 *March* 1633. Had there not beene a generall drowth throughout this country [Persia] almost this three yeares, your order for the provesion of graine might have likewise beene observed; but (espetially this last yeare) such want of foode hath been amongst these poore people that it hath come verie little short of the dearth there with you. *William Gibson, &c., aboard the Mary at Gombroon, to the President and Council at Surat* (*English Factories*, 1630—1633, p. 290).

17. In Suratte was extraordinarie groote dierte soodat menichte van menschen en vee van honger sturven, si jnde de miserie aldaer soo groot, dat de moeders tegens natuer haere kinderkens wt hongersnoot op gegeten hebben. *Dagh Register, August* 1631, p. 33.

18. The death of the Sultana [Tāj Mahal, in July 1631] was followed by public calamities of various kinds. The war in the Decan produced nothing but the desolation of that country. An extraordinary drought, which burnt up all vegetables, dried up the rivers, and rent the very ground, occasioned a dreadful famine. The Imperial camp could not be supplied with provisions: distress prevailed over the whole face of the empire. Shaw Jehan remitted the taxes in many of the provinces, to the amount of three millions sterling; he even opened the treasury for the relief of the poor; but money could not purchase bread: a prodigious mortality ensued; disease followed close on the heels of famine, and death ravaged every corner of India. The scarcity of provisions prevailed in Persia: the famine raged with still greater violence in the Western Tartary. No rain had fallen for seven years in that country. Populous and flourishing provinces were converted into solitudes and deserts; and a few, who escaped the general calamity, wandered through depopulated cities alone. (Translated from the *Shāh Jahān Nāma.*) Dow, *History of Hindostan*, III. 141—142.

19. Famine in the Dakhan and Gujarat.

During the past year [1629—1630] no rain had fallen in the territories of the Bālāghāt, and the drought had been especially severe about Daulatābād. In the present year also

there had been a deficiency in the bordering countries, and a total want in the Dakhan and Gujarāt. The inhabitants of these two countries were reduced to the direst extremity. Life was offered for a loaf, but none would buy; rank was to be sold for a cake, but none cared for it; the everbounteous hand was now stretched out to beg for food; and the feet which had always trodden the way of contentment walked about only in search of sustenance. For a long time dog's flesh was sold for goat's flesh, and the pounded bones of the dead were mixed with flour and sold. When this was discovered, the sellers were brought to justice. Destitution at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. The numbers of the dying caused obstructions in the roads, and every man whose dire sufferings did not terminate in death and who retained the power to move wandered off to the towns and villages of other countries. Those lands which had been famous for their fertility and plenty now retained no trace of productiveness....The Emperor in his gracious kindness and bounty directed the officials of Burhānpur, Ahmadābād, and the country of Surat, to establish soup kitchens, or almshouses, such as are called *langar* in the language of Hindūstān, for the benefit of the poor and destitute. Every day sufficient soup and bread was prepared to satisfy the wants of the hungry. It was further ordered that so long as His Majesty remained at Burhānpur 5000 rupees should be distributed among the deserving poor every Monday, that day being distinguished above all others as the day of the Emperor's accession to the throne. Thus, on twenty Mondays one lac of rupees was given away in charity. Ahmadābād had suffered more severely than any other place, and so His Majesty ordered the officials to distribute 50,000 rupees among the famine-stricken people. Want of grain and dearness of grain had caused great distress in many other countries. So under the direction of the wise and generous Emperor taxes amounting to nearly seventy lacs of rupees were remitted by the revenue officers—a sum amounting to nearly eighty *krors* of *dāms*, and amounting to one eleventh part of the whole revenue. When such remissions were made from the exchequer, it may be conceived how great were the reductions made by the nobles who held *jāgīrs* and *mansabs*. (Translated from the *Bādshāh-Nāma*, I. 362.) Elliott, *Hist. of India*, VII. 24—25.

Results of the Famine of 1630—1632.

20. 31 *January* 1634. At present the Portuguese forces are not much to be feared, by reason of their poverty and a great mortality which has befallen them in Goa and other parts since the beginning of the famine. *Capt. Richard Allnutt, aboard the Palsgrave to the Company* (*English Factories*, 1634—1636, p. 8).

21. 29 *December* 1634. As regards a fresh supply [of calicoes] we can send you none, not onely because wee have no meanes (although that cause is impulsive enough) but because none of any sort can be had in any proportion for any reason.... They [Thomas Thimbleby and Joseph Keeling] write from thence [Broach] their feares that they shall not finish it, because that more then two corge [score] of baftaes in a day are not brought unto the bazar, although that they are at this tyme the onely buyers; if 20 corge a weeke, they conceive it a great weekes worke; but at no better rates then the last yeare afforded. The reasons of this are as follows. First, the scarcity and consequently the deareness of cotton wooll, which we conceive doth cheifely arise from the great price which all sorts of graine hath yeilded for some forepast yeares, which hath undoubtedly disposed of the country people to those courses which hath bene most profitable for them, and so discontinued the planting of cotton, which could not have bene vented in proporcion of former tymes, because the artificiers and mechaniques of all sorts were so miserably dead or fledd from all parts of the kingdome of Guzeratt; which is the second cause that hath occasioned this great stand in the callico trade, and cannot be so restored in its pristine estate as that we may hope to see it in it's former lustre for many yeares to come (we conceive for five yeares at least). Yet the plenty of this present yeare diffused generally through all the vast parts of this kingdome, occasioned by the seasonable raines which have falne universally, in a more fruitfull proporcion upwards into the countrey then hereabouts Suratt, which is somewhat a hotter clymate and requires therefore more abundantly the latter rayne, doth summon downe againe those fugitives which famine forced from their owne habitations; and we are eyewitnesses of a much greater concourse of people frequenting the cities. The villages fill but slowly, yet it betters with them also; and if the excessive tiranny and covetuousness of the governors of all sorts would

give the poore people leave but to lift up their heads in one yeares vacancye from oppression, they would be enabled to keepe cattle about them, and so to advance the plenty which the earth produceth that all things would be much more abundant, and there would be no want but of tyme to make the children capable to exercise the functions of their fathers, whereunto the custome of this countrey doth necessarily oblige them. *President Methwold, &c., at Swally to the Company* (*English Factories*, 1634—1636, pp. 64—65).

22. 29 *April* 1636. I find not any moneyes paid in other species then the same they were borrowed, without allowance of vatteau [*battā*, exchange], which in tyme of famine and scarcity in this place was growne to excessive rates, not less then 13½ *m*[*ahmūdīs*] per 100 rup[ee]s. The reason is that *mahmūdīs* are none of the Kings coyne, but coyned by the Rajah of Mallore [Mulher], a place distant from hence 70 course or myles, and are onely currant in these adjacent countries not further then Bodera [Baroda]; so that, according to mens occasions for rup[ee]s to send for Agra, Amadavad, or any other parts, the vatteau doth rise and fall. But that which raised it to the prementioned rate in tyme of f[amine] was the Benjares [Banjārās] or carriers, which brought corne and provisions [in] abundance from other parts, which they sould here for mamood[ies and] changed them for rup[ee]s at any rate. The merchants also of Suratt sent what money they could possible get to Brampore to procure graine; so that scarcely a rupe could bee found. Since that time the vatteau has daily declined and is now only one mamoodie per 100 rupees. *Francis Breton at Surat to the Company* (*English Factories*, 1634—1636, pp. 224—225).

23. There is no Province in all the Indies more Fertile than Gusuratta, nor any that affords more Fruits and provisions, which grow in such abundance there, that all the neighbouring Provinces are thence suppli'd. 'Tis true indeed, that in the year 1630, the great drought, and the year following, the continual rains reduced it to so deplorable a condition, that the particular accompt might be given thereof would deprive the Reader of the diversion, which it is our design to find him in this Relation. But the Province hath since that time well recover'd it self of that desolation, yet not so as but the marks of it may be scen every where. Mandelslo, p. 22.

APPENDIX B.

SKIRMISH WITH THE PORTUGUESE, 17 OCTOBER 1630.

President Rastell's Account.

The fleet returned on October 14 and, the Portuguese frigates being absent, got into Swally Hole without opposition. On the following day ten of the frigates and two small vessels made their appearance; and on the morrow, while the English were unlading their treasure, a number of soldiers were landed as if to intercept it, but desisted on seeing the preparations made to encounter them. On the succeeding day, being Sunday [October 17], the Viceroy's son and "Capt. Moore" [Capitão Mór, *i.e.*, the Captain-Major, Don Francisco Coutinho] landed with 150 soldiers, with colours flying, and came nearer to the English tents; whereupon Capt. Morton and the other commanders, with their men in very good order and with their colours flying, marched to meet them. The English divided themselves into three squadrons, one remaining in sight of the Portuguese, while the other two wheeled behind the sandhills to take them in the flanks. The Portuguese, however, spread themselves along the shore in the expectation of being covered by the fire of their frigates. "But such was the undantednes of our English, being stirred up to a high measure of furie by the howerly vexations and braveing of the enemye as, being now come within shot, with a generall resolucion rejoycing att the occasion, after a shot or two received first from the Portingalls, [they] put on in the verye face and mouth of all their friggatts; and, perceaveing that but three of them could use the advantage of their prowes against them, and that some [seaven *in extract*] of the rest were brought aground and had only their

harquibusses acrocke to gaule them, advanced forwards, still plying their small shot with very good discipline, and the Portingalls noe lesse valliantly replying with their double forces, as well from their friggatts at sea as the squadrone on shoare; but not able (it seems) to endure the obstinate rage of our people, they began to give grounde; and ours, most feircely followinge, entred pell mell amongst them, even into the water within lesse then pistoll shot of their friggats, in which intrim the Vice-Kings sonn was convayed aboard, but soe narrowly escaped that the party who provided for his safety was himselfe taken prisoner in the accion; many of the English not feareing to runn up to the chin in water, even to the very sides of their friggats, pursueing the victory with great slaughter, both at shoare and at sea; and at length returned with 27 Portingalls prisoners taken alive, without the losse of anye more then one ancient man (a corporall), not wounded but suffocated only with heate, and the wounding of seaven more of our people. This they happily performed in the sight of Meirza Baker [Mīrzā Bākir] and divers of these country people, to their great admiracion and our nations greater honour." *President Rastell and Council at Surat to Nathaniel Mountney at Ahmadābād* (*English Factories*, 1630—1633, pp. 65—66).

John Vian's account.

1630, *October* 14. The fleet anchored in Swally Hole. About sunset the Portuguese came in sight. *October* 15. The enemy's squadron of 15 frigates anchored a mile to the northwards. *October* 16. "In the afternoon he landed by judgment near a hundred men. We that fornoon having landed som treasure, Capt. Morton and others of the commaunders, with som 40 or 50 men armed, marched towards them to se ther intent; but the enymie, seing them comming, reatreted back to ther frygats and got aboard them as fast as they could. They never cam without commaund of ther frigats. Our comaunder[s?], seing that, returned backe agayne to ther tents and caused the treasur to be caried away as sonn as possibell for Swalie or Surrat, as carts and men could be gotten, which was all done that night." *October* 17 (Sunday). "In the afternoon the enymie landed near 150 men, most of them in arms, and cam marching towards our tents. Our comaunders landed, and with

them som small shoot and pikes, and with the court of gaurd near upon 200 men. They marched towards the enymie in two or three companys. The enymie making a stand a prety while, our comaunders with our men went and (blessed be God) had the day, for the enymie was forced to flye to ther frigats for refuge, and happie was he that could get first aboard, our men comming on them so fircelie that they tok hould of ther frigates ors and kyld a many of ther enimmis in the sea; and in ther frigats we tok 26 Portingalls alive, som hurt and som not hurt, and by the report of the peopell next day we had slayn 150 or 200 of ther men, both black and whit peopell. They did shot of ther frygats gownes [guns] towards our men many tyms, but... our men cam all well of without the lose of any man. We had eight men hurt in all, but all recovered of ther hurts, althought som whear a long tyme." *Extract from the Log of the Discovery* (*English Factories*, 1630—1633, pp. 67—68).

George Marriot's Account.

October 17. The Portingalles landed great storre of thear men, and the Viseroyes sonne with them, and the frigates prowes lyinge closse upon the shower. Wee not knowinge thear pretentes, haveinge monyes and goodes of the Companyes upon the strande, som 40 thousand powndes, wee marched downe upon them despratly in the face of theare great ornance in thear frigates and skirmaged with thear menn ashower; but we plyinge them so fasst and falling upon them that we forsed them to take the wallter. Thear we made a great slater amongest them, and broffte off som 24 alive prisners with us clouse from their frigates sides. Thankes bee to God, wee came off and losste not a manne, but only three hurt, our trompeter beinge one; hee was shot in the risste, and another in the thighe, and the other one the topp of the forrhed; the which was to the admiration of the pepell that wee came off so farly. *Extract from the Log of the William* (*English Factories*, 1630—1633, p. 69).

Andrew Warden's Account.

October 17. The fleet put ashore a quantity of money and quicksilver. In the afternoon the Portuguese landed about a hundred of their men, whereupon a similar number of the

English went ashore. The enemy were chased to their frigates, a great many killed, and 26 or 27 taken prisoner. About six Englishmen hurt, but only one, named Baker, "being a fate man, ovearheatein of his bodey and drinkein of colde watear, died, bein not shot at all." *Extract from the Log of the Blessing* (*English Factories*, 1630—1633, p. 70).

Jan van Hasel's Account.

The English vessels...entered the harbour on Oct. 22 [1630, Dutch style]. The enemy [the Portuguese] had made several faint attempts to harass them, but had received such a welcome that they had soon left them in peace. But as soon as the English had begun unloading their cargo, the Portuguese sent about 80 men on shore to capture the goods, but they were beaten off so successfully that but a few returned to the frigates. The English made 27 prisoners whilst the greater part were killed. On Nov. 3d the enemy sent four fire-ships among the English vessels, but a guard-boat caught them with a grapnel (they were fastened together by chains) and led them to the shore, where they were burnt without having done any other harm. *Extract of a letter from Jan van Hasel at Surat to the Directors of the Dutch E. I. Co. at Amsterdam, dated* 30 *Aug.* 1631 (*Dutch Style*) (*Hague Transcripts*, No. ccc.).

APPENDIX C.

JOHN LEACHLAND, HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER.

John Leachland, purser's mate of the Company's ship *Expedition*, arrived at Surat in 1615 and remained there as a factor. In 1617 Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador to the court of the Mogul, directed that Leachland should be entertained as a factor for Persia "to bee imployed in veiwing and buying the silkes, in which hee pretends hee hath had breeding and experience." But there is no record of Leachland's service in Persia, nor any mention of his having gone there. In 1621 he was ordered home, but in November of that year was sent to Burhānpur with a consignment of goods for the "Prince's court." During the next two years he was constantly employed in the Company's business at Burhānpur, Baroda, Ahmadābād and Cambay, and there are numerous letters extant from him at this period[1].

In 1624 Leachland's wages were increased. After this there is no mention of him till 1626 when "Att a Consultation held in Surratt the 20th February 1625 [1626] whereat were present Mr Thomas Kerridge, President Richard Wilde, William Hoare and George Page, it was determined, *vizt.*[2]

"John Letchland haveing for some passed yeares privatly kept a Woman of this Country and by her had a Childe (lately deceased) whereby it was discovered to the rest of the English, with whom alsoe he still Continueth. And not withstanding the many perswasions both of the President and Councell to divert him from farther persisting in that Course of life, standeth yet soe firmely resolute not to leave her, as that he desireth rather

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[1] See Roe, ed. Foster; *Letters Received*, vols. IV. V.; *English Factories* 1617—1629 for further details of Leachland's early career in India.

[2] *Factory Records, Surat*, I. 117.

to be Suspended the Companys Service and Wages then to be Constrayned to Abandon her Conversation, though with Continuance of his wonted meanes and former repute, which desire of his being by this Councell had to consideration, it was Concluded to condiscend to his request untill the Companys Farther pleasure be manyfested. The rather for that any strickt course would (as his passions declare) have hastened his marrying to her and soe Consequentlye have forsaken his Country and freinds; or in case of faile thereof to some other desperate undertaking to his aparente Ruine, both which all were Willing to prevent, hoping that time will reclaime him and that himselfe will at last be sencible of his owne Errors, being otherwise a man of fayre demeanor, Sufficient Abillities, and cleare of Accounts with the Honorable Company in India."

After this Leachland's name disappears from the Company's *Records* until February 1632 when, owing to the shortage of factors consequent on the many deaths at Surat, he was readmitted as a factor and placed in charge of a caravan bound to Agra[1]. He seems to have returned to Surat some time in 1632, and died there two years later.

At a Consultation held in Surat on the 30th June 1634[2] there is the following entry: "Since the decease of John Leachland a small writeing was produced under his hand directed to the President and Counsell Contayneing as followeth.

"Worshipfull Etc. the Honorable Company are indepted to me for my wages, the which I pray may bee devided between [the woman] Manna [Manyā] and my daughter Mary. Untill the Companys order shall come, Allow them such allowance as you shall thinke fitt; and my humble desire unto you is that you would see my daughter Christianly brought up, which is the Last request of your dieing freind

JOHN LEACHLAND.

Suratt le 22th June Anno 1634.

"Which this Counsaile have thought good to graunt in some measure, purposeing to allowe his wife and daughter somewhat to sustaine them till they heare what probabilitie there is of wages due to his Account from the Honorable Company. And con-

[1] See *Relation* VIII. pp. 80—83.

[2] *Factory Records, Surat*, I. 302—303.

cerning his daughter, they like well of his Christian request, and at present houlde it fitt to send her for England to some freinds that may entertaine her, but deferre the finall resolution thereof till hereafter."

The Company's orders received from England induced the Council to alter their decision regarding Leachland's widow and daughter. At a Consultation held on the 22nd October 1634[1], we find: "A former Consultation gave (deceased) Mr Leachland's wife and daughter some Monethly allowance to feed them, upon his Earnest request on his deathbed (extant in writeing under his hands) wherein he affirmed to have wages due to him from the Honorable Company, who have now bene pleased to write out concerning him, but with great dislike of himself, family and service, not mentioning any Sallary to be due to him on Account. Whereof this Councell being uncertaine and fearing the Contrary, have thought good to suspend the forementioned allowance, least the Company should be destitute of meanes for satisfaction. And to send home his daughter for England, they have a great desyre, in regard she is a Christian, and may undoubtedly find entertaynment in divers places, without prejudice to the Company. But, upon a little motion thereof the other day to her mother, they find her utterly unwilling to part with her, threatninge her appeale to this Governor. Whereupon tis supposed some trouble wilbe produced, besides peradventure the Companys displeasure hereafter; and therefore till they shalbe pleased out of England to enorder her disposure otherwise, these impediments are of force to detayne her still in India."

The Court of Committees had evidently commented in strong terms on Leachland's irregular union. Their letter is not extant, but in reply the President and Council of Surat wrote, on the 29th November, 1634[2], "John Leechland was discharged your service long since and so should have continued, if God had bene pleased to have given him longer life. You will find in a Journall when hee dyed and how, as also his disposure of what he doth pretend to be due unto him for ½ of sallary whilest hee continued in your service betwixt his woman and his daughter. He deceased miserably poore, for which cause we then resolved

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[1] *Factory Records, Surat*, I. 313—314.

[2] *O. C.* No. 1543 A, p. 5.

to allow them somewhat Monethly out of the meanes which they pretend; but your dislike of them and their disorders being come to our perusall, we suspended the allowance as we shall doe the payment of his Sallary untill your pleasure shall warrant the Act. In the meane tyme it is great pitty that the poore girle should perish in the mothers education who is undoubtedly a most wicked woman, for which cause we sometymes thought to have forced her from her mother and have sent her home to some of Leechlands kindred, but not knoweing whether it might displease, we attend further order. She is now about 9 yeares of age and it would be an act of Charity to add to her Baptisme Christian education. Bee Confident, we beseech you, that her house shalbe proscribed. Whilest hee lived there might be couler for a visitt. Now, according to the Custome of the Countrey, there can be nothing but suspition."

This report caused Leachland's relatives to take action. At a Court of Committees held on the 25th November, 1635, it was ordered, "on petition of Henry Bonner, who married a sister of John Leachland, deceased in India," that a clause be inserted in the next letter to Surat desiring the President "to do his best to get possession of the said Leachland's daughter (whose mother is an Indian) and send her to England by the next ships[1]."

No further correspondence on the subject is extant until 1639, when, in their letter of the 15th January, the President and Council of Surat wrote to the Court[2]: "Your former President Mr Methwould and some of us then of Councell that subscribe to this have in some of our letters mooved you in behalfe of a woman called John Leachland's wife, to whom and his Daughter hee having in equall proportions to bee divided betwixt them bequeathed whatever hee dyed possessed of, added to that his guift also the import of his sallary due to him for his Service. The said woman (some daies before Mr Methwoulds departure) was very urgent with him therefore, which hee then, as wee now (uppon the like demands made by her) denied, and declared that without your order wee could not soe dispose of your monies. Whereuppon shee procured some in our house to frame this Petition shee sends your Worship, The which you may please

[1] *Court Minutes*, 1635—1639, p. 120.
[2] *O. C.* No. 1658, pp. 4—5.

to heare, and returne by Us what answere you thinke fitting. Shee is become miserably poore, Soe that your Charity would bee both seasonable and wellcome. Wee remember you have in a former of yours in part inclined to gratify her request, which notwithstanding by discontinuance of further mentioning it, hath bine againe forgotten. And therefore now wee are the rather imboldened thus to represent it."

"Manna Lichland's" petition does not exist and there is no record of the Court's reply to the representation of the Surat Council on her behalf. The end of the story came five years later, and is related in a letter from Surat to the Court, dated 27th January, 1644. The President and Council wrote[1]: "Your Worshipps in former missives from this Presidency have bin advised that it was noe lesse necessary in respect of her selfe as becomeing the honor of our religion and Nacion that the Daughter of John Leechland should bee sent to her Kindred in England; for which alsoe wee remember that her uncle, Mr William Leechland, petitioned and obtained your Consents; which though you were then pleased to grant, yett upon arriveall of your pleasures therein, her Mother being with the Daughter retired to Barroach and Brodera, and soe missing that yeares passage, nor one nor the other were after that time thought on, untill May or June last passed, when from the mother was presented a petition to your President and Councell for leave to Marry her daughter unto one William Appleton, taylor and attendance (*sic*) at Surratt; whereof wee had duely considered, though wee found it a new thing never before desired or granted, yett withall it was apprehended a necessary meanes to preserve her honor and honesty unteinted, which till then, though shee wanted not provocations enough from her mother to tempt her to prostitution, was almost miraculously preserved; besides which the remembrance of your former grant for her comeing to England in your shipps, and her Uncles Charitable inclination towards her, invited us to gratifie her desires. Soe that they were by our Minister, Mr Andrew Baines, solemn[l]y married, and have since (susteined by the Charitie of your servants) poorely yett honestly and decently subsisted. Yett there maine Comforts depending on your favors and the hopes they have to bee relieved by

[1] *O. C.* No. 1858, p. 18.

Mr William Leechland, and the hopes they have in a peticion directed to your Worshipps emplored your Consent that whatsoever shalbee found due to John Leechland upon his accompt of wagis, if not already otherwaies disposed off, may (as upon his death bedd hee desired) bee sent them, that soe, whether you please to license there returnes from, or continuance in, India, soe much may at least bee added towards sustenance and future subsistance."

APPENDIX D.

THE FIRST ENGLISH COMMERCIAL MISSION TO PATNA, 1620—1621.

There are references in Peter Mundy's Journal[1] to the work of Robert Hughes and John Parker at Patna in 1620 and 1621. Mr William Foster gives a short, concise notice of their commercial mission, together with abstracts of their correspondence, in his *English Factories* 1618—1621, and a full account (as contained in the original documents) is to be found in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XLIII. (1914). Some further comments on this early venture of the East India Company are, however, of interest here, as showing that the spirit in which the two earlier factors entered on their duties was very different from that exhibited by Mundy. Theirs was the first attempt to start a factory at Patna on behalf of the Company, and it failed of its purpose, not because of local difficulties, but owing to orders of withdrawal issued by the controlling authorities in India. They were deputed from Agra by the Council at Surat, were able to show the practicability of starting a remunerative factory, and were withdrawn by orders from Surat without effecting anything beyond providing an indication of the trade to be done. Twelve years later, in 1632, Peter Mundy was, like them, sent to Patna by the chief at Agra, in obedience to orders from Surat. Unlike them, however, he objected to the experiment, disbelieved in its usefulness, and was delighted when he was recalled, being convinced that his mission was the result of a mistake, an opinion which ultimately proved to be correct[2]. So the second mission to Patna

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[1] See *Relation* VIII. pp. 135–136, and *Relation* X. p. 144.

[2] See *Relation* X. p. 156.

failed also, and it was not till after 1650 that any business of a permanent nature was established there[1] by the Company.

The first attempt to found a settlement at Patna originated in this wise. It came to the knowledge of the Company's servants in India that the cloths they generally called ambertees or ambertrees (corruptions of the native terms *ambatī* and *ambatrī* for stout, close calicoes of narrow width) were to be procured cheaply, and in large quantities, at Patna, to them a far place to the East, though approachable in a commercial sense. So in 1619 they determined to send Robert Hughes, a factor of four years' experience and at that time second at Agra, to see what could be done; and they gave him as assistants John Bangham and John Young, then on his way up from Surat. Young was, however, much delayed, and both he and Bangham were diverted to Lahore. Thus, in the end, Robert Hughes started off by himself on the 5th June 1620, with a credit of Rs. 4000, for the unknown, after a fashion common in those plucky times, and 29 days later, on the 3rd July, duly arrived at Patna with his convoy of goods. He remained there alone until the middle of September, when he was joined by John Parker, who had replaced Bangham[2].

The first thing that Hughes did on arrival was to convert his bills of exchange for Rs. 4000 into cash, and then he visited the Governor, Nawāb Mukarrab Khān[3], who was then Sūbahdār of Bihār. The Nawāb was pleased to see him, but proved to be

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[1] The actual date of the establishment of the Patna Factory is uncertain. A settlement was probably made there after the foundation of the Hūglī Factory in 1651. At any rate, Patna was a centre of trade before February 1659, when Richard Chamberlain was appointed by the Court to be agent at that place.

[2] The letters from Hughes and Parker to the authorities at Agra and Surat are preserved among the records at the India Office (*Factory Records, Patna*, vol. I.), and it is from these that the following narrative is taken. Unfortunately, the correspondence from Agra and Surat is not now in existence.

[3] Nawāb Mukarrab Khān, usually surnamed Jahāngīrī to distinguish him from other notables of the same name, was one of Jahāngīr's most trusted nobles and well accustomed to deal with Europeans. In 1608 he sent the Emperor from Cambay the finest European tapestry seen in India to that date. In 1609 he sent a picture of Tīmūr procured in Goa. In 1612 he visited Jahāngīr, bringing, among other things from Goa and the West Coast, a turkey cock, a bird which much puzzled the Emperor. In 1613 he was back in Goa with orders to check Portuguese depredations on the native shipping from Surat. See Elliot, *Hist. of India*, VI. 317, 320, 330, 337, 362, 423 and VII. 12.

greedy of presents and merchandise, for which he was reputed to pay well, a reputation he maintained. His desires ran in the direction of European articles, such as cloths and hides, and he also wanted tapestries, gold tissues, velvets, embroideries, feathers and other things then not readily procurable in India. Hughes next searched for a convenient dwelling, but even with the help of an order from the Governor, he did not find it an easy matter. Finally he settled in a house in the Great Bazar near the Kotwālī, which was a wise proceeding.

Hughes soon discovered that the *ambatī* cloths he was seeking came from Lakhāwar, about 20 miles distant, where there was a market in those things for the surrounding villages in which they were woven. But he found, too, that these cloths were sold unbleached, and that the bleaching was a troublesome business, occupying some three months before the goods could be made fit for the European market[1]. Other kinds of calico, both fine and coarse, were also obtainable in large quantities at Lakhāwar, but it required time to procure them, as the weavers had to be given advances before manufacture. He further discovered that he had to face a severe competition in the shape of Portuguese merchants from Hūglī and Pīplī in the delta of the Ganges (then places known to the English only by distorted names and reports), and of native agents from the country round about Patna and from Upper India and Persia, who came for *ambatīs* and also for fine cotton goods made in Māldā and Bihār for sale in Lahore and North-western India generally. The most important discovery, however, that Hughes made, the value of which unfortunately the authorities at Surat did not at all appreciate, was that Patna and the neighbourhood, besides being a considerable source for the supply of cotton goods, was a great market for Bengal silk, both in skeins and cloths. Into this point he went deeply and learnt all he could.

In the first year of work, 1620, Hughes was unable to supply anything of consequence for shipping home, because he started too late in the season to get cotton goods bleached in time, and all he dared to do in the matter of silk goods was to procure samples. He was sharp enough to see the value of *tasar* (tussore) silk goods from Lower Bengal, and invested Rs. 400 in them as

[1] Letter of 12 July 1620. *Factory Records*, *Patna*, vol. 1.

a trial, but in vain; and it was left to Streynsham Master to start the trade in that valuable commodity in 1679[1]. Hughes seems to have been quite competent for the task entrusted to him, and after four months' observations, in a part of the world then entirely new to English traders, he was able to report that the "two mayne propes which must uphould this [Patna] a factory and theye not to be provided in any quantityes without a continuall residence[2]," were *ambatī* calicoes and skein silk. In the end it proved to be as well that the first consignment from Patna happened to be small, as though it reached Agra safely, it never arrived in Surat, having been robbed on the way, together with the whole caravan with which it was sent, by the Deccan [Dakhan] Army in the war then going on between Jahāngīr and the allied Deccan kings whose forces were commanded by Malik 'Ambar.

Hughes and his assistant Parker lost no time in setting about creating a good supply of merchandise for shipping home in 1621, and as soon as they had dispatched the limited supplies of 1620, on the 4th October, they commenced collecting unbleached *ambatīs* at Lakhāwar, though they dropped investments in silk, pending the orders of the authorities. They were much hampered in their fresh ventures by the late arrival of funds from head-quarters. This threw them back in procuring supplies in good time, but they managed nevertheless to comply with practically all the demands made on them. The merchants at Surat, after a manner not uncommon in authorities at a distance, had in fact expected their requirements in *ambatī* calicoes and Bengal silk to be at once satisfied, without reference to the timely dispatch of funds and means for the purpose.

Apart from the trouble due to the action of their employers, the two isolated factors were not without local difficulties to disturb them. By March, 1621, Nawāb Mukarrab Khān, their friend and honestly paying client, was recalled and his place taken by Sultān Parvīz, a son of the Emperor Jahāngīr, whose actual arrival was, however, delayed till the end of May in that year. The change did not promise well for the Company, for one of the first things that happened was the forcible occupation of all available accommodation at Patna by the huge retinue of

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[1] See Streynsham Master, ed. Temple, I. 112, 136.

[2] Letter of 11 Nov. 1620. *Factory Records, Patna*, vol. I.

the Imperial Prince, without reference to the needs of those displaced, among whom were included the English factors. The prince's mere presence also in Lakhāwar caused a temporary suspension of trade, as no one wanted to appear to have any money as long as his people were on the scene. The early withdrawal of Hughes and Parker soon afterwards, however, prevented the effects of any policy the new Governor may have contemplated from becoming apparent.

Then, on Saturday 24th March, 1621, the incipient factory was subjected to a great misfortune. One of those enormous fires, so common and disastrous in towns which, like Patna, are largely made up of wattle-and-thatch houses and huts, started about noon in the western suburb known as Alamganj, about a mile and a half outside the walls. There was a violent wind at the time, and the fire destroyed the suburb and got over the walls into the very heart of the city in about an hour. Then ensued the usual frantic efforts on the part of the whole population to save what was possible on very little warning. Fortunately Hughes, who was alone, Parker being at Lakhāwar, had the assistance of nearly a hundred workmen by chance on the premises at the time, and he managed with their help to get most of the Company's goods, evidently stored in ordinary thatched warehouses, into an adjoining stone building before the fire reached him. It caught a thatched hut immediately in front of his own dwelling, and all he could save out of this last were his account-books and his money. His own belongings were lost, as well as a small amount of the Company's property. From the English warehouses the fire sped on through the town, and only burnt itself out when it had reached the extreme eastern suburbs. Hughes heard that 300 people had lost their lives. The story is temperately told, and is no doubt true, as the present writer more than once saw the same thing happen between 1886 and 1889 in what was then the great wattle-and-thatch city of Mandalay, after it was taken over by the English from the native king. Hughes' matter-of-fact account[1] shows him in the very favourable light of a brave, imperturbable man, who thought of the Company's interests first and of his own afterwards.

By the middle of August, 1621, the factors at Patna knew that the Surat authorities had determined not to go on with their

[1] Letter of 31 March 1621. *Factory Records, Patna*, vol I.

experiment there, and this obliged them to drop all further attempts at establishing a trade in Bengal silk, and to confine their attention to completing their commitments in the calico business. By the 12th September everything was ready for closing the factory, and next day Hughes set out for Agra, leaving Parker to bring up the goods. The unusually heavy rains of 1621, however, prevented Parker from starting till the middle of October, and he did not reach Agra till the 14th November, arriving in some fear of censure from his masters, as the last letter from Surat[1] indicated that John Young might be sent on from Samāna to continue the new factory.

Thus ended the first attempt of the Company to establish a trading centre at Patna. Parker, who had been ill for some time with dysentery at both Lakhāwar and Patna, continued to suffer therefrom till he died on the road from Agra to Surat in 1623. Hughes, too, died early in the same year at Agra. Their deaths may have been hastened by their imprisonment under Jahāngīr's orders, in 1622, in consequence of the seizure by the English of some goods belonging to merchants in Surat.

Though nothing out of the way for the times, this trading commission to Patna was a notable feat of endurance, pluck and self-reliance in difficult conditions, and it is interesting to note some of the details connected with its performance. The trade carried on, the financing of it, the means of transport and the methods of dealing with cotton and silk goods at the very commencement of English commerce in the interior of India are all matters of sufficient importance to make the proceedings of the first factors at Patna worthy of consideration.

They imported two classes of goods: firstly, those which they expected to sell to the Governor and his entourage, and secondly, those for the general market. Nawāb Mukarrab Khān, the particular Governor with whom they had to deal, was, most fortunately for them, well acquainted with Europeans, and knew the value of what they could procure from Europe as presents for the Emperor. So he paid well, and cash settlements with him were prompt and most satisfactory to the English adventurers. The articles he wanted make an interesting list. They included empty bottles, looking-glasses, "toys," *i.e. objets d'art*; tapestries

[1] Letter from Parker of 17 September 1621. *Factory Records, Patna*, vol. I.

for curtains (*parda*), paying as much as Rs. 300 for one piece, gold tissue, velvet, embroidered cloth, broadcloth (kersey), red, green and yellow brocade; swords, enamels and fine iron-ware; feathers (? ostrich), bobbin-lace, amber beads; European hides and even damaged cloths. On one bill alone he paid Rs. 2400 for his desires.

The English trial imports for the local market included cloths, ivory, hides, quicksilver, vermilion, lead, tin, saffron, swords, knives and fine iron-ware. Also amber beads which were not worth much, however, and coral beads which sold badly in Patna but well in Bengal, where coral was wanted in connection with burning the dead: a most interesting statement. The information procured about coral beads was curious. Small beads 5 grs. in weight sold at 72 the rupee; beads of 10 grs. at 12; of 15 grs. at 7; of 20 grs. at $4\frac{1}{2}$: which shows that beads of more than 5 grs. were not common. The British exports were Lakhāwar cotton goods and Bengal silk in skeins and woven, both procurable in any quantity desired, *lignum aloë* (eagle-wood), spikenard and gumlack, which last was not valuable. The best time for export was in October after the rains.

In reference to the trade competition already mentioned, the rivals were Portuguese, trading entirely *viâ* Bengal, who imported Chinese silks, spices, tin and jewellery, and exported *ambatī* calicoes, *khāssa* or fine muslin, silk, and Jaunpur carpets. There were also native merchants who imported nothing but specie and bought everything they wanted with that or by means of bills of exchange. Their requirements were chiefly *ambatī* calicoes, but they also wanted, firstly cotton goods in the form of sheets (*dopattā*) from Māldā, and secondly muslins (*kaimkhānī*, a coarse variety of *khāssa*) from Bihār, which were about 15 yds. long and 27 inches wide[1] and valued at Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 apiece. These muslins were not fit for the English market, though they were readily saleable in Persia, Turkey and Northern Africa. The native merchants came, too, for turbans (*mandīl*), of which Benares was the best source of supply, and for the short silk cloths known as *alāchah*[2].

Goods passing to and fro in this trade were transported under

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[1] That is, 14 coveds by $\frac{4}{5}$ coved: taking the coved at 33 inches.

[2] Hughes' letter of 12 July 1620. *Factory Records, Patna*, vol. I.

escorts in carts carrying usually about half a ton, or in boats. Hughes was told by the Portuguese that the journey by boat from Patna down to the sea, probably Pīplī, was six days, but the journey up eighteen days. This was most likely a large underestimate, as when he dealt in Bengal silks at Murshidābād, very much nearer by river to Patna than the sea, he found that he had to allow two months for the journey there and back[1]. Land transport from Patna to Agra was supposed to occupy 30 to 35 days, but recorded times are 29, 30 and 40 days, and the rule seems to have been to allow full stipulated rates for a 30 days' journey with a deduction of 25 per cent. for any time occupied over that period. Whether the merchants were able to enforce such a rule, however, seems doubtful, as one of Hughes' bargains is stated in these terms: for the carriage of 81 maunds in carts he was to pay down Rs. 153, with a promise of Rs. 8 more if the carts arrived in Agra to time[2]. And he and Parker, for the carriage of 52 maunds, paid Rs. 74½ down with a similar promise of Rs. 8 more[3]. So it would seem that the worst that could happen in practice to the carters was the loss of the additional Rs. 8. The carters were also quite equal to striking if they did not like a job, just as they do nowadays in India, for Parker discovered, when he was leaving Patna, that on the first day out his carters had dropped his goods on the roadside and bolted, because they found the bales to be too heavy, though they had previously agreed to the size. Parker was then left, as has been many a man since his day, to do the best he could as to collecting his property and proceeding on his journey. One is perhaps not surprised at the carters' behaviour in this case, as Parker had laden nearly a ton on each of his carts, whereas Hughes only put about half a ton on those carrying his consignment.

The normal cost of land transport from Patna to Agra, as bargained for by Hughes and Parker, was Rs. 1¼ to Rs. 2¼ per maund of 62½ lbs., including the pay of the native supervisor, which was Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 for the journey. But this seems to have been about one-third less than the sum usually paid. Additional sources of cost in transport were robbery and damage

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[1] Letter of 11 April 1621. *Factory Records, Patna*, vol. I.

[2] Letter of 6 October 1620. *Factory Records, Patna*, vol. I.

[3] Letter of 19 May 1621. *Factory Records, Patna*, vol. I.

by rain, both of which had to be taken philosophically as ordinary trade risks.

Correspondence was all sent by private messengers, who were obtainable in the Chief Bazar of Patna, and were known as *bāzār kāsids* and apparently belonged to a recognised class carrying on this particular business. The time required for the journey to Agra was considered to be 11 days, but was extended to 15 and even 25 days, though this last was looked on as an unconscionably long time to spend on it[1].

The English trade in Patna was financed from Agra by means of money bills drawn by native merchants there on their correspondents in the former city, the aggregate value of which seems to have been Rs. 37,000, or £4625 at the rate of exchange at the time. The credits were sent out in driblets, generally too late for their purpose, causing the two factors in Patna much anxiety, and sometimes bringing them into difficulties. In this way they had Rs. 4000 to start with, to which Rs. 1000 were afterwards added, and then they received in succession Rs. 5000; 5000; 3000; 8000; 8000 and 3000. There was not much trouble in getting the bills cashed, provided care was exercised in selecting firms for the purpose of drawing them, as the bills of any one in Agra who had previously behaved in a manner which the Patna merchants did not like were practically tabooed, and the drafts of such a man gave the English factors in Patna much the same trouble as a doubtful cheque would nowadays cause in London. In one case Hughes had to warn the authorities in Agra that Prāg Dās "his sonne," a bill discounter in Patna, had become "cracked," that is, bankrupt, by a run on him made by means of bills for Rs. 100,000, owing to the proceedings of his father in Agra[2]. On another occasion a small bill was not negotiable even at 4 per cent. discount. Bills were usually drawn at 40 and 41 days sight, but Hughes showed that it was better for the Company's credit to make them payable at 14 ("twice seven") days sight, which he pointed out was safe, as the messengers only took eleven days on the road; and this advice his correspondents followed towards the end.

Sometimes Hughes had to draw on Agra to keep himself

[1] Letters of 29 December 1620, 31 March and 17 September 1621. *Factory Records*, *Patna*, vol. I.

[2] Letter of 3 September 1620. *Factory Records*, *Patna*, vol. I.

going, but he does not seem to have found much difficulty in procuring cash in this way. The exchange was $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 2 per cent. in favour of Agra, and Hughes was quite pleased with himself on securing a draft for Rs. 2000 at $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. at a time when the Governor, Mukarrab Khān, was being transferred from Patna and had sent Rs. 300,000 to Agra for his own account. The difference between cash (newly coined rupees) and paper money (*hundīs*, cheques or bills of exchange) was small; only $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The two classes of merchandise to which Hughes and Parker paid continuous and close attention were cotton and silk goods, and as to these there is a good deal to be learnt from their correspondence. The commodity they were chiefly in search of was *ambatī* calico, a stout, close, narrow cloth measured by the *jahāngīrī coved*, or cubit of 40 inches or a little more. Of this there were three sorts known to the makers, who resided round and about Lakhāwar, some 20 miles from Patna. The three varieties, unbleached and just as they came from the loom, were all 13 coveds, say $14\frac{1}{2}$ yds. long, but they were of varying breadths. Thus, the *razāī* was 20 inches wide and fetched Rs. 2 net the piece; the *zafarkhānī* was 25 to 30 inches wide and fetched Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ to Rs. 6 net; the *jahāngīrī* was 40 inches wide and fetched Rs. 3 to Rs. 12 net. From these facts one supposes that quality as well as quantity had to do with the price. The orders from Surat were to buy 20,000 *ambatīs* for the 1621 shipping, at an average of Rs. 2 each for *zafarkhānīs* and Rs. 8 each for *jahāngīrīs*; and in the end this order was practically completed at Rs. 2 for the former and Rs. 6 for the latter[1]. Hughes and Parker evidently did well as bargainers.

The trade in cotton goods was, however, not so simple as it would at first appear. Firstly, the bleaching was a serious matter, involving a delay of some three months, and with it were connected various charges. The actual cost of bleaching is stated to have been Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ to Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ per score of pieces, besides the cost of cleaning materials, which means that it was 2 annas to 3 annas the piece. Then there was an allowance of 25 per cent. to the vendor; that is, the score meant 16 not 20 or, to put it in another way, Rs. 20 counted as Rs. 25. Thirdly, there was the *raza'*, or

[1] Letters of 6 August, 6 October and 11 November 1620. *Factory Records, Patna*, vol. I.

a fragment of 10 per cent. of the total length of a piece cut off by the owner before putting it out to bleach, which, however, was saleable on its own account as unbleached stuff; and of course where purchases were on a large scale, the *raza'* formed a valuable asset. But one result of this custom was to reduce the bleached pieces from $14\frac{1}{2}$ yds. in length to about 13 yds. Next, there was a fluctuating, unsettled brokerage on the unbleached goods, while on the bleached $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. to 1 per cent. was chargeable as brokerage, together with a duty of $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. to 1 per cent. more, reckoned at 5 pice the piece. Of this duty 2 pice went to the Governor, 2 to the broker, and 1 to the merchant. So it would seem that the maker paid it. Altogether there must have been a great deal of calculation over each transaction, during which each party had to keep his eyes open and his head cool, these unpleasant necessities being brought about by the anxiety of every individual concerned to make what he could for himself out of the rest.

Trading was not rendered easier by customary variations in measurements, as to which, complicated letters from Patna seem to bring out the following facts. Hughes took the *jahāngīrī coved* of 40 inches as the standard for commercial purposes and was much upset by the factors at Surat first mixing this up (and no blame to them) with the *ilāhī gaz* or Agra coved of $33\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and then thinking that to be $32\frac{1}{2}$ inches: the result of course being a disconcerting discrepancy in accounts. Then there was a Patna coved of 41 inches and yet another at Lakhāwar of $43\frac{1}{2}$ inches, by means of which last it would appear that the weavers were done out of $\frac{1}{16}$ or say $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on sales, not (one suspects) without their knowledge, but because they could not help it.

Despite these drawbacks, the trade in *ambatīs* at Lakhāwar was large, lasting from three to four months in the year, at the rate of 1000 pieces a day, or from 90,000 to 120,000 pieces per annum, valued at Rs. 2 the piece all round, or from Rs. 200,000 to Rs. 250,000 annually. So Hughes was fully justified in advising that Rs. 50,000, or £6250 at the current rate of exchange, could be safely allocated yearly to this class of investment alone[1], and that it was therefore worth while to start a factory at Patna. This

[1] Letter of 12 July 1620. *Factory Records, Patna*, vol. 1.

advice was supported by the fact that in addition to the *ambatī* calicoes, Hughes found the following cotton cloths easily procurable in the neighbourhood. *Sahan*, fine sheeting, and *hammām*, towelling, both brought from Lower Bengal by Pathān dealers: *chautāhā*, a coarse, double-length, double-width cloth, and *rāwat*, a variety of *chautāhā* used as canvas for tenting: and *kamsūkhā*, a rough unfinished product, which, if transported unbleached, had to be cleaned of grease and dirt from the loom, or it would not last out a journey.

Hughes' acquaintance with Bengal silk was the result of a discovery. He went to Patna for cotton, and found this variety of silk in any quantity he might desire, together with unlimited labour for converting it to English uses. He also found, and at first he thought it would be very useful to the Agra factors, that there was a difference of 36 per cent. in the price of skein silk between the two places in favour of Patna, but the price at Agra fell for various reasons from 25 per cent. to 30 per cent. within a year. The best silk came apparently in cocoons (unwound) from Maksūdābād and Saidābād, *i.e.*, Murshidābād in Bengal.

The sale of skein silk seems to have been a monopoly of the Governor, and it had to be bought through his agent, the Town Magistrate (*kotwāl*) in Patna. Hughes therefore considered that it would probably be cheaper to wind off the silk from the cocoons himself than to buy it in skeins from the *kotwāl*. His ideas were to send skeins of his own winding direct to Agra, and there to make a profit of 20 per cent. to 36 per cent. on his operations at Patna; to convert some of the skeins into floss silk as a profitable investment for England, despite a loss of 25 per cent. in weight by the process; and to start a factory of 200 to 300 silkwinders, though, on the receipt of discouraging letters from his principals, he did not employ more than a hundred. Finally, of course, the whole scheme came to an end on his recall to Agra.

Nevertheless Hughes took a great deal of trouble with his winding experiments and reported his results with much minuteness and with that complication of statement that distinguishes men without mathematical training when dealing with figures. Thus, he produced what he called seven qualities of silk threads from a *ser* of cocoon silk, calling the *ser* the weight of $34\frac{1}{2}$ "pices": a pice being a copper coin valued at 64 to the rupee and conventionally weighing then say half an ounce, which would make

the weight of the *ser* to be $17\frac{1}{4}$ oz. or a little over a pound[1]. He then proceeded to state the proportion of each sort wound off in terms of "pices" at $34\frac{1}{2}$ to the *ser*. Three of these sorts had native names, and the other four were clearly of his own creation, but these he subsequently found it convenient to treat as one. So that practically his winding produced the three ordinary sorts, one of his own, and a certain amount of valueless waste. Stating his complicated computations in modern terms, it will be found that his Bengal silk per *ser* weight was wound off the cocoon in the following proportions:

	proportion		value per *ser*
	parts	percentage	in annas[2]
1. *shikasta*; broken, irregular: "7th sort"	26	$18\frac{1}{4}$	$14\frac{1}{2}$, 16
2. *katwāī*; imperfect, discoloured: "6th sort"	16	$11\frac{1}{4}$	24
3. *gird*; round, even quality: "1st sort"	11	$7\frac{1}{4}$	73
4. "2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th sorts": good quality	51	$37\frac{1}{4}$	68
5. waste: valueless	34	26	—

This is to say in general terms that one may expect to wind off from Bengal cocoons 50 per cent. good silk, 25 per cent. poor, and 25 per cent. waste. The customary length of native skeins was a coved of $33\frac{1}{2}$ to 40 inches, but for the purposes of the English market Hughes made it a yard. Floss silk was made out of *shikasta* and *katwāī* skeins dyed in several colours, but all that Hughes sent to Surat on trial came out of *katwāī*, except one skein of a pale blue colour which was produced from *shikasta*.

As in the case of the cotton trade, the silk business was complicated by the system of dealing. Thus, there was a discount of 25 per cent. on settling accounts, a legal brokerage of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. from the seller and 1 per cent. from the buyer, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. altogether; a commission for the Governor of 17 per cent.; and *sers* that varied from 30 to $33\frac{1}{2}$ and $34\frac{1}{2}$ pice. This sort of variation of weight ran through all trade, and one finds that in Hughes' time the *ser* for quicksilver was $37\frac{1}{2}$ pice, for lignum aloes 33 pice, and for amber beads 14 pice.

Made up silk in the form of quilts came from Satgāon near

[1] See Thomas, *Useful Tables*, pp. 115, 116, where he gives a *ser* of 64 pice at Aurangabandar and a commercial *ser* at Bombay of 30 pice. The first works out the pice at $7\frac{5}{6}$ drs. and the second at 6 drs.

[2] Taking the anna of the period as $1\frac{3}{4}d.$, then these prices per lb. may be stated thus: No. 1, 2*s.* 2*d.* to 2*s.* 3*d.*; No. 2, 3*s.* 6*d.*; No. 3, 8*s.*; No. 4, 6*s.* 7*d.*

Hūglī, and these Hughes lined with taffeta (silk) or *tasar* (silk and cotton mixed), and gave them silk fringes and tassels for the English market. He also advised investment in Baikunthpur *alāchah*, silk goods $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards long by 27 inches wide, as being appropriate for the petticoats of both English and Persian ladies.

The first consignment sent by Hughes in 1620 never reached Surat, and perhaps, owing to local opposition, none of his silks were sent home, but on the assumption that some did reach England, the most interesting fact of all in regard to his work is that the first *tasar* (tussore) goods, then meaning cloths half silk and half cotton in texture, ever exported from India arrived in England in 1622 or thereabouts, anticipating the trade initiated by Streynsham Master by about 60 years. Hughes' expressions tusser, tessur, tussre, are in fact the earliest forms of the Indian term *tasar*, now represented by tussore, in the English language[1].

The quaintest things that Hughes tried to send home in 1620, and one cannot but regret that they never reached even as far as Surat, were "a cupall of prattlinge birds called mynnas [*mainā*], which wee have bought to bee sent to the Company and intreate you carre may bee taken for theire convayence to Surratt[2]."

Mr William Foster points out to me that in his ed. of *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe* (Hak. Soc.), pp. 210—213, there is an interesting reference to Hughes as a draughtsman. "So soon as I came in, hee [Jahāngīr] sent Asaph Chan [Asaf Khān] to mee: that hee heard I had in my house an excellent Paynter and desired hee might see some of his worke. I replyd, according to truth, that ther was none but a young man, a Merchant, that for his exercise did with a pen draw some figures, but very meanly, far from the Arte of painting....When the King rose, I went to Asaph chans house (having sent for Master Hewes, the supposed Paynter)...and after some speech with Master Hewes, wherin hee was Satisfied, Asaph chan asked mee for my little Picture [by Isaac Oliver, the miniaturist] and presented it to the King." A specimen of Hughes' work does not seem to have reached Jahāngīr, for Roe proceeds with a quaint story about Oliver's miniature.

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[1] The word occurs in the *Āīn Akbarī*, I. 94, but I have found no other instance of it before 1621 in any English writer. Investment in 'Bengal silk' was ordered in 1648.

[2] Letter of 6 October 1620. *Factory Records, Patna*, vol. I.

APPENDIX E.

NOTE ON MĪRZĀ ZU'LKĀRNAIN[1]. A CHRISTIAN IN THE MOGUL COURT.

Prefatory.

Mīrzā Zu'lkārnain (the Lord Alexander) was the Muhammadan title of an Armenian, whose Christian name was Belchior (Melchior, Gonsalvo). He was the son of a merchant of Aleppo settled in India, who became attached to Akbar's Court at Lahore under the title of Mīrzā Sikandar (the Lord Alexander). Mīrzā Sikandar's wife was Bībī (Lady) Juliana, daughter of Khwāja (or Mīr) 'Abdu'l-Haī, an Armenian convert to Islām, and one of Akbar's judges (*kāzī*) for at least 8 years, from 1581 to 1589. Juliana died before 1598, as in that year, at the request of Akbar on the persuasion of his Christian wife, Mariam Zamānī, who may possibly have been a relation, Mīrzā Sikandar married his deceased wife's sister at Lahore. By her he had two sons who afterwards became Muhammadans in 1633[2]. All this was to the great scandal of the Jesuit Fathers at the Court, as the family were strict Roman Catholics. Mīr 'Abdu'l-Haī had a brother, Mīr 'Abdu'llah, who was a Court player on the dulcimer (*kānūn*), and this may have been the origin of the family connection with the Court.

Mīrzā Sikandar had two sons by Bībī Juliana, both with names representing Alexander: Mīrzā Iskandarūs, b. 1592, and Mīrzā Zu'lkārnain, b. 1595, who were adopted by Akbar's Queens after a well-known Oriental fashion, and brought up in the Royal Apartments. He died in 1613, being at his death in possession of a *jāgīr* (landed estate with military obligations attached) and

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[1] See *Relation* XVI. pp. 240, 241.

[2] The name of this wife and her sons have not come down to us.

the farm of the Government salt monopoly at the Sāmbhar Lake in Rājputāna, worth annually five to six *lākh* of rupees, £62,500 to £65,000 at the exchange value of the rupee at that time. He was succeeded in his office by Mīrzā Zu'lkārnain, then 18, who proved to be a skilful administrator, and also an able musician and a good vernacular poet. In 1620 Jahāngīr praised his administration and made him Faujdār (civil and military administrator) of Sāmbhar. Between 1627 and 1632 he was Faujdār of Bharaich in Oudh.

Mīrzā Zu'lkārnain was all his life a staunch Roman Catholic, and although the brothers had been forcibly circumcised, in 1606, as Muhammadans, by Jahāngīr's orders, when the elder was 14 and the younger 11[1], they always resisted all efforts to convert them to Islām. So when Shāh Jahān, who had been Zu'lkārnain's playmate in the Palace, began to be intolerant of non-Muhammadans, he recalled Zu'lkārnain from Bharaich, and in 1633 mulcted him of so much money (estimated at four to eight *lākh* of rupees or £50,000 to £100,000), that he was practically ruined. About 1640 Zu'lkārnain was again in favour. In 1645 he served in Bengal with Sultān Shujā', one of Shāh Jahān's sons, leaving his *jāgīr* of Sāmbhar to be administered by an uncle, Jānī Beg (? brother of 'Abdu'l-Haī) on a salary of Rs. 50,000 (£6250). In 1649 he was back on his *jāgīr*; in 1651 he was in Kashmīr and in 1652 at Lahore, on both occasions with the Emperor Shāh Jahān. Meanwhile, a nephew, George, had arrived from Aleppo and he stayed with Zu'lkārnain for over two years, and in 1652 was sent to Rome to salute the Pope in his uncle's name. In 1654 Zu'lkārnain gave up his *jāgīr* and retired to Delhi on a pension of Rs. 100 *per diem* (£4700 *per annum*) and there it is to be presumed he died, but neither the date of his death, nor the place of his burial is now known.

His wife's name was Helena. She died in 1638 and was buried in a fine garden he had at Lahore. She left three sons and a daughter, Clara, who married well. The sons all had the title of Mīrzā, and were respectively Observa (John Baptist) *d.* 1619, Eres (Irij, Irich, Gaspar) *b.* 1619, and Daniel (Dānyāl, Michael), and they all predeceased their father.

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[1] Guerreiro, *Relaçam*, 1605—1606: fol. 152 *b*—155 *a*. Reference given by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.

The interest in Zu'lkārnain lies in the fact that he was all his life a "pillar of Christianity," and a very generous supporter of the native converts of the Jesuit missionaries of his day. So much so that they spoke of him as "brother" and procured for him the title of Founder of Agra College. An epitaph on a tomb at Delhi shows that a great-granddaughter, Bībī Anna Dessa, died there on March 2, 1736[1]. The claim of the Bourbon family of Bhopāl to be descended from Bībī Juliana, as the *sister* of Mariam Zamānī and *wife* of their founder, John Philip de Bourbon, does not appear to have any foundation in fact.

I.

Extracts of Jesuit Annual Letters from Goa and Cochin. Translated by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.[2]

1619. *Mission of Mogor* [*Mogul Emperor's Dominions*: *Hindustān*]. Our harvest of [new] Christians was largest in a certain Province [Sāmbhar] over which the King has appointed as Governor an Armenian Christian, a man of singular virtue, whom all the Christians worship as their Father. His name is Mrizé Zulcarnen [Mīrzā Zu'lkārnain]. He has taken at his Court some two hundred poor people, whom he maintains without regard to expense. His largesses—a bait wherewith he conceals his hook—attract the Gentoos [Hindus] and Maomettans so strongly that he fishes up many into the Church of Jesus Christ. ...Having been installed Governor of that Province, he secured at once the services of one of our Fathers, and when he had taken possession of his Province he called still another....Like a bright glowing torch, he leads the way in the observance of the rules, hears Mass daily, takes the discipline on Fridays, and distributes himself the disciplines to the brethren....

He had a son [Observa, John Baptist], the heir to all his riches, temporal and spiritual, a boy richly gifted in body and soul, the court's delight. He fell dangerously ill, and only those who know how much he and his father were loved by all, can say

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[1] For a full account of Mīrzā Zu'lkārnain, *vide* a paper read by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., on July 2, 1913: *Procgs. J. A. S. B.*

[2] Printed in *The Examiner* (Bombay) 17 February, 9 March, 6 April 1912.

how deeply all were concerned. All felt aggrieved; the mother was inconsolable, while the father's heart was rent asunder, on the one hand by his love for so sweet a boy, one so well deserving of his love, on the other by his supernatural desire to please God, desire not a whit inferior to his natural affection for his child. Understanding that the disease was making progress, he made to God—like another Abraham—a heartfelt sacrifice, and bathed in tears burst forth into the following prayer: "Lord, Thou gavest me this son; to Thee I return him, to Thee I offer him and consecrate him. Receive him, I beseech Thee, clothed in the white garment of innocence with which he was vested in baptism. I know well how much more happy he will be in Heaven than in the Mogor's Royal palace." And to show that he spoke from the heart, he forbade to all his people calling in the aid of sorcerers, and letting the child be contaminated by their pagan superstitions: any one acting to the contrary must lose his head in the attempt. God accepted the Mrizé's prayer. The child died, and the father gave thanks to God from his inmost heart, because He had been pleased to accept the dearest pledge of love which he could offer after himself...

This faithful servant of God is so greatly favoured by the Divine Majesty that all the affairs of his government are daily crowned with increased success. Plenty has chosen his house as her abode, as a treasure-house wherein she pours and empties out her cornucopia. He is the eye of the King; for him to ask is to obtain; his name is famous everywhere; in fine, he is so full of heavenly grace that it redounds marvellously on those of his household.

His wife was in the throes of a dangerous parturition, Mrizé, taking from his neck the cross studded with relics which he used to wear, had it hung from the neck of his consort, and behold! presently she gave birth to a most pretty boy [Eres (Gaspar)]. The good Mrizé recognized in this a special favour of God, a reward for the generous oblation he had made of his other son to the Divine Majesty. To celebrate so happy an event, not merely the birthday of an heir, but a great miracle obtained through the Holy Cross, he began the festivities by releasing all the prisoners and paying off their debts....

1620. *Mission of Mogor.* Five of our Fathers are cultivating this vast Kingdom. One of them is always following the King

[Jahāngīr] and his army; another resides at Agra, the capital, with a great part of the Christians. The other three are [at Sāmbhar] near Prince Mirza Zulcarne, the father, pillar and mainstay of this Christianity. All have had ample occasion to labour for Christ, one excepted, who for reason of illness was sent back to India....

The Christians who live under Prince Mirza [Zu'lkārnain] make daily marvellous progress in holiness and virtue. The Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, instituted last year at his request, goes on better and better. The members of it are already every month approaching the Sacraments of Confession and Holy Communion, whereas formerly they did so only once a year. Their example provokes among the rest of the Christians a greater frequentation of the Holy Sacraments. Foremost in all works of piety is the good Prince Mirza. Not only does he by his edifying example incite all his people to every kind of good work, but he assists them liberally and lavishly with frequent and copious alms....

But our Fathers are not the only recipients of the liberality of this Christian Prince. He extends it to the rest of the Christians, and even to the poor Gentoos [Hindus]....

At this time a great scarcity and penury of food was harassing the Gentoos[1]. For the last five years the rains had failed. The sky had seemed of brass. A great number of people flocked to the city of our Mirza, and the good Prince, moved with pity, ordered a rich Gentoo to distribute daily to his people a sufficient quantity of food, with which he would regularly supply him....In a word, Prince Mirza is among these Mogorese [people of Hindustān] another apostle, a second St Paul, who becomes *omnibus omnia*, *ut omnes Christo lucrifaciat* (all things to all men, that he may win all to Christ). Kind to all, the pillar of this Christianity, the only refuge of all the afflicted, he not only procures to all the bodily assistance they may want, but ministers with even greater success to their souls....

Last June, one of our priests was sent to Goa in order to negotiate with the Superiors the foundation of a College of the

[1] This apparently refers to some local scarcity of food in the Sāmbhar district in 1620. There is no other mention of it, so far as I know. The great famine in the West of India occurred in 1630. See Appendix A. [R. C. T.]

[Jesuit] Society[1] at Agra, the capital of Mogor, which Prince Mirza wishes to found on a yearly revenue of fifteen hundred *scudi* [£75]....

1624. *Mission of Mogor.* Mirza Zulcarnen continues to give much edification, and to show much zeal for the cause of Christianity. We hope of him that he will promote much the new Christianity of this country, and that of [Portuguese] India.

II.

Extract from *Travels in the Mogul Empire* by François Bernier[2].

He [Jahāngīr] permitted two of his nephews to embrace the Christian faith and extended the same indulgence to Mirza-Zu'lkarnain, who had undergone the rite of circumcision and been brought up in the Seraglio. The pretext was that Mirza was born of Christian parents, his mother having been wife of a rich Armenian, and having been brought to the Seraglio by Jehan-Guyre's desire.

III.

Notes from the *Amal Sālih* supplied by Mr H. Beveridge.

1632. Mīrzā Zu'lkārnain, who had grown up from childhood at Court and had become great in age and rank, was *faujdār* of Bharaich in Oudh. He was famous for his skill in Indian music, for which he was much esteemed by Shāh Jahān. In the fifth year [1632] he came to Court and presented five elephants. He was the son of an Armenian and in the *Amal Sālih* is called Farangī [foreigner] and not Mīrzā.

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[1] It may have been the Fathers' intention to have some sort of school or orphanage at Agra; but the idea, as appears in other letters of the period, was rather to secure fixed revenues for a number of Missionaries in Hindustan, dependent on the "Rector" of Agra. Some 15 years later, Mīrzā Zu'lkārnain wished to found a "College" in Western Tibet, when evidently there was no question of a big school, but of a Mission in the event of regular subsidies to carry on its work. All this money of the Mīrzā and other monies too, gifts and legacies of wealthy Catholics in Hindustan, were invested in buying up land at Parel (Bombay), which one of the early Protestant Governors of Bombay confiscated. It was used later on for Government House, into the buildings of which the old chapel was embodied. [H. H.]

[2] Ed. Constable, p. 287.

IV.

Notes supplied by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.

1632. Father Jos. de Castro, S.J., Mīrzā Zu'lkārnain's chaplain, wrote "from Mogol" on Aug. 8, 1632, that he had been with the Mīrzā the last three years. The Mīrzā had all that time been Governor of some Province of Bengala. The town [Bharaich] is nowhere mentioned, but it was stated to be 200 miles from Agra and 300 from Hugli[1].

On Nov. 24, 1632, Fr. de Castro writes from Agra that the King [Shāh Jahān] had recalled the Mīrzā. The Mīrzā was received with much honour by the King, and the Fathers hoped he would get some other good commission.

1633. Fr. J. de Castro wrote on Feb. 6 from Agra that the bell of their Church had been removed on the day of the Epiphany [1633], 4 pyades [*piyāda*, peons, police] had been posted in the house to watch over them day and night, and they (the Fathers) had been forbidden to make any converts. The Mīrzā had shown himself very firm in certain demands of the King touching his faith.

Fr. F. Corsi, S.J., wrote from Agra, Oct. 5, 1633, that they had been a whole year subject to persecution. In Sept. 1632, the Mīrzā's step-mother and his two half-brothers had been seized, their property taken, and the two half-brothers had of their own accord become Muhammadans, hoping this would save them. Then the Mīrzā was recalled from Bengal, and Shāh Jahān wanted to make a Muhammadan of him too, or seize his treasures. He began, however, by vexing the Fathers. On the Epiphany 1633, their house was invaded by armed soldiery, and the three bells were removed from the steeple. On March [? Feb.] 6, a Sunday, they said Mass again; but the Judge came that day, sat down, called the Mīrzā, and began tormenting several persons to know where his treasures were. That night the Mīrzā was taken to the palace; the 4 fathers were the next day taken to prison where they remained till Feb. 13, and were released with the Mīrzā, when the latter promised he would pay the sum they wanted: 400,000 *scudi* [about £20,000]. By and by, they wanted more, and both the Mīrzā's and the Fathers' houses were searched,

[1] See note No. III. The government was that of Bharaich in Oudh, but the distance given from Hugli is twice as great as stated.

the floor being dug up. Nothing was found and the police left the Fathers alone that night. The Mīrzā had paid already 3 *lakh* of *scudi*, but had to pay still one *lakh*. From a rich man he was now reduced to poverty; but the Fathers hoped the King would reinstate him.

Fr. Jos. de Castro wrote from Agra, Oct. 8, 1633, that the Mīrzā had had to pay 8 *lakh* of rupees or about 400,000 *cruzados* [£100,000]. To help him as much as they could they had given back to him the golden chalice which he had presented to the Church.

V.

Extracts from the Marsden MSS. in the British Museum. By W. R. Phillips and H. Beveridge. Edited by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.[1]

Translation of the Latin version of Father Botelho's account of Mīrzā Zu'lkārnain.

But, as all the success we have had in Mogor, the flourishing condition of the Christian religion, all the revenues possessed by the Agra College, are (after God) due entirely and solely to Mīrzā Zu'lkārnain, whom the Society adopted as one of its brethren, it behoves us to dwell awhile in just praise of him. This man, I mean Mīrzā Zu'lkārnain, was as noble in birth as he was illustrious by his deeds and renowned for his Christian piety. An Amīr in dignity, he was a Numa in peace, an Alexander in war, a Caesar in both, brave in warfare, meek in peace, an Alexander in his conduct, a model of valour, a pattern of gentleness, a champion of religion; the Moguls honoured him for his greatness, the world for his renown, and religion for his virtues. The Mogul Kings owe him a thousand victories, a thousand nobles thank him for his benefits, while the Society of Jesus owes him great affection. For the Mogul he was a strenuous leader, for the faith a powerful champion, for the Society a faithful friend and brother. Through him warlike courage flourished, the Christian religion increased, and the Society had cause to rejoice. This is the man who, although sprinkled with holy water in his cradle, became the delight of King Jahāngīr for his foreign beauty, so that the king

[1] *J. A. S. B.* VI. 437—461 (1910).

himself, a thing that is rare among the Moguls, had the boy at his own table. He, at the age of twelve, saw the king's affection turned into wrath and endured many and severe stripes because he obstinately refused to abjure the Roman faith, so much so that Father Francisco Miranda called him the glorious martyr of Christ. As a young man he possessed a very subtle wit and wrote verses in his mother tongue with such elegance that the King was greatly delighted thereby. In rewarding singers he was so liberal that he frequently gave them as recompense a horse or an elephant. He was wholly of a noble nature, ready to forgive injuries and yielding to the wishes of others. He was offered by the king the highest honours and a million a year[1] if he would abjure the true religion. But he preferred to be afflicted with the people of God and to lead a life of poverty so that he might win the wealth of heaven and become a partaker and heir of everlasting life. He it is who turned back upon their author the poisoned darts aimed against the Society by an ecclesiastic high in honour, and delivered the Mogul missionaries from grievous punishment. It is he, lastly, who freed Father Henry Busi from undeserved bonds, and in Christian freedom addressing the king, offered his head to the sword if the sentence on the Father were to be carried into effect.

He married Helena, a distinguished lady, and had 3 sons by her, Mirsa [Mīrzā] Observa [John Baptist], Mirsa Eres [Irij, Irich, Gaspar], Mirsa Daniel [Dānyāl, Michael], and he saw them all advanced to high honour during his lifetime. The King promised to keep faith with the *mansabdārs* and *umarā* [*i.e.* the noble officers, sons of Zu'lkārnain] if they embraced the law of Muhammad.

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[1] The Latin has *ad millionem annui redditus*, which may be read to mean a *koti* (crore) a year (really 10,000,000) which at that time, as a monetary expression, meant Rs. 2500 in cash. See Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī* (tr.), II. 323, and elsewhere in Note H thereto. [R. C. T.]

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p. 90 *n.* For *Amīl Sāleh* read *Amal Sālih*.

p. 107 *n.* *For* Shariyār *read* Shahriyār.

pp. 122 *n.* 2 and 157 *n.* 2. *For* Fytche, Fytch *read* Fitch.

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p. 160. *For* Chaudhari Pratāp *read* Chaudharī Pratāp.

p. 280. *For* Kishngarh *read* Kishangarh.

pp. 287 and 298. *For* Bhanwānī *read* Bharwānī.

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